



Oil Profits Soar, Yet Carter Opts for Deregulation

The first quarter oil profit reports are in. Compared to the first quarter of 1978, the latest whopping increases were

- Standard Oil of Indiana — Up 27%
- Exxon — Up 37%
- Gulf — Up 61%
- Texaco — Up 81%
- Marathon — Up 108%
- Standard Oil of Ohio — Up 300%

The Iranian revolution was the oil companies' excuse to cry "shortage." As always, this brought higher prices to the gas pumps and home heat bills. While price-gouging provided the real reason for record profits in the first quarter, these profits are going to look like small peanuts once the Carter energy plan takes effect in the second quarter.

The Deregulation Racket

Carter proposed deregulation, or the removal of all price controls on oil, as a means to decrease U.S. dependence on foreign oil and thereby fight inflation. He said that by deregulating oil prices, the oil companies would have an incentive to develop more domestic oil and other energy sources. What does this incentive look like?

All new oil drilled after June 1 will be completely free of price controls. In addition, some oil drilled before that date would have its classification changed from "old oil" to "new oil." Behind the simple name change is a tremendous price increase

Old oil sold for \$5.80 a barrel. New and reclassified oil will sell for \$12.80 a barrel.

In January 1980, decontrol begins in earnest. All old oil will be reclassified and prices will steadily spiral. For no additional cost, the oil companies will add an additional \$7.00 per barrel, an additional \$7.00 per barrel pure profit.

This part of the Carter plan has become an accepted fact among lawmakers, despite the fact that the head of the Federal Energy Board has stated that last year's decontrol of natural gas prices has not resulted in increased natural gas development.

Well aware of the reaction that ever-increasing massive profits for the oil companies will cause among working people, Carter was quick to add that a measure must be taken to prevent the corporations from reaping "undeserved profits." Comparable to the phony wage insurance plan he offered alongside of wage controls, Carter has proposed a windfall profits tax on the oil companies. But just as the wage controls went ahead without the wage insurance, Carter has already said that deregulation proceeds regardless of what happens to the tax proposal.

Paper Reins

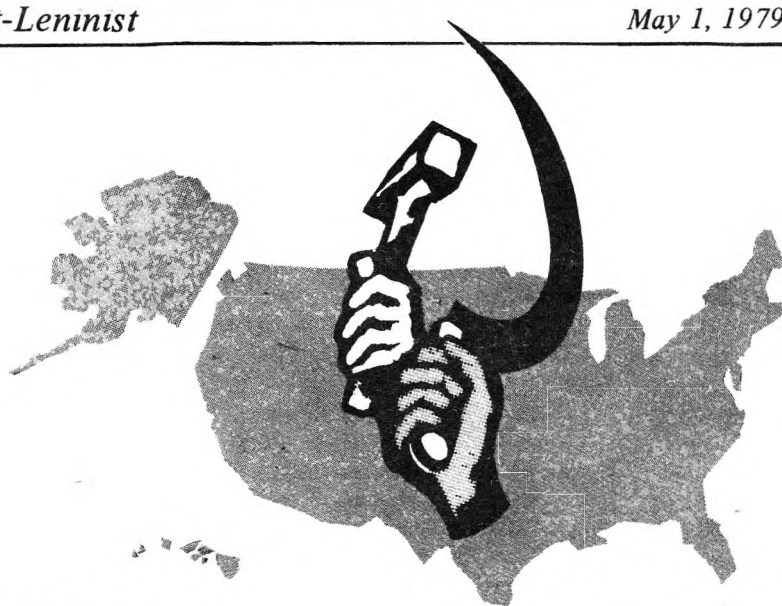
Like his wage insurance, the reins Carter proposed to place on oil monopoly profits are only made of paper. Carter proposes that the tax apply only to approximately one-third of the reclassified oil and not at all to the new oil.

Through a slight of hand, Carter makes sure that even the tax on this one-third will find its way

back to the pockets of the oil monopolies. Aside from the sops he promises the American people (like a tax rebate if you switch over to a wood stove for heat!), most of the revenue from the windfall tax will be plowed back into the energy monopolies for new research and development. So in the end, Carter proposes taking a little money from one hand of the oil magnates, only to pass it back to the other hand.

The debate over the windfall tax will be hot and heavy in Congress in the coming weeks. But the debate will center only on the question of how much oil company profit is acceptable. To be sure, some of the liberals will speak in favor of throwing a few sops to the working people. Maybe a \$100 rebate for the poor, or some money for the development of mass transit. But there will be no discussion of the oil companies' right to gouge profits out of the working and oppressed people of the U.S. There will be no discussion of the necessity for an end to price increases in home heating fuel or gasoline. There will be no discussion of why, every time there is a so-called energy crisis, the oil companies make out like bandits while the millions of people are forced to suffer more and more.

Though Carter proposes this tax as a measure to force the monopolies to contribute to the welfare of the American people, what it really shows is the essence of such "reforms" under the capitalist system of private ownership. It is not a question of their right to gouge the working people, but a matter of how much they can get away with at any one time. ★



Workers of the World, Unite!

May Day Statement from the Central Committee of the CPUSA/ML

May Day comes with the beginning of Spring each year and opens up a new season of class struggle against the capitalist class. Emerging from the confines of winter, the proletariat and oppressed nationalities take to the fields, factories, mines and mills with fresh enthusiasm and determined dedication to unleash the mighty power of the proletariat as a class. Strengthening the strategic alliance between the proletariat and its allies carries forward the banner of class struggle, national liberation and socialism.

So it has been since 1889, when the Paris Congress of Socialists of all countries proclaimed May First as an international festival of the proletariat and oppressed people.

In the United States, the recognition and celebration of May Day rose out of the revolutionary trade union movement which organized the first trade unions and fought for and won the eight-hour day.

Growing Consciousness and Organization

Today, a new season and new developments demand the attention of the proletariat. They signal the growing consciousness and organization of the proletariat in the U.S. No amount of ideological garbage about the dying out of the historic mission of the working class, the necessity for peace and cooperation between labor and capital, or some "third world" which replaces the historic mission of the proletariat can dry up the revolutionary flood that is growing in the United States.

Today, the proletariat fights not for an eight hour day, but a six hour day. Today, the proletariat fights not for the old aristocratic unions, but for a new unionism. Today, the proletariat and the oppressed nations do not confine the struggle to strictly legal and reformist responses to the fascist violence of the state, the Nazis, and the KKK. Instead,

they use all forms of struggle and rely upon the necessity for armed self-defense in the fight to destroy all vestiges of fascism and national chauvinism.

The summer ahead will be important. The struggle against the reactionary white supremacist attack of the Weber Decision will continue. The struggle in the streets against the Klan and the Nazis will assume new proportions.

And in September, the class-conscious auto workers will be looking toward a militant strike against General Motors, a strike which will strengthen the consciousness and organization of the entire working class. This strike will have the possibility of deepening the break with the reformist leaders of the reactionary trade unions, like UAW President Douglas Fraser, along with reformism as a whole. It will have the possibility of exposing the opportunist henchmen who seek to sever the struggle for reforms from the struggle for socialism. At the same time, the strike must target the genuine enemy of the working class, the capitalist class as a whole and its state apparatus.

This May Day, we do not lose sight of the constant offensive of capital on all fronts against the working people of the United

(Continued on page 3)



A New Unionism Takes Form

In the centerfold of this issue, UNITE! reprints the pamphlet just published by the Trade Union Action League.

"The war between the capitalist class and the working class is due to the system of wage slavery. For the young workers, first looking for a job, the middle-aged workers with families to feed, and the older workers who are just holding on until retirement, the capitalists have what we can't live without: Jobs. We have to eat. To eat we have to work. To work we have to work for the capitalists. To work for the boss, we have to accept his terms. We are slaves to the wage system."

from *The New Unionism and the Trade Union Action League*

Science Must Serve Proletarian Revolution

Second of Two Articles
by Barry Weisberg

Turn to page 8

Editorials

Outcome of Mid-East Treaty

Now that the Mid East Peace Treaty has been signed, the Israeli aggressors are launching major military campaigns into Lebanon once again. Only a few short months after the festivity on the White House lawn, the Lebanese city of Tyre is receiving heavy shelling from land and sea. Palestinian refugees and Lebanese people are once again being killed and their homes destroyed.

Now the Israelis say that they have adopted new tactics, "a new policy on terrorism." They are going on the offensive, they say, "wherever, whenever and however." They will wage a campaign of "constant harassment." This is the peace loving nature of the Israeli Zionists. For this kind of aggression, Menachem Begin receives a Nobel Peace Prize. This is the new era of "peace" brought in by the Mid East Peace Treaty.

It comes as no surprise that as soon as the Treaty was signed, the Israelis would attack again. At no time during the entire treaty process did the Israelis ever change their position on the Palestinian people. As far as the Zionists are concerned, the Palestinians do not exist and therefore have absolutely no rights.

At no time did the Israeli Zionists claim that they would cease all aggression in the Mid-East. In fact, they gave every indication that they planned to step this activity up. They requested, during the treaty process, more arms and military aid for the express purpose of continuing the Zionist policy of expansionism.

Far from curtailing the barbarity of the Zionists, the Mid East Treaty has heightened it. Given the absolute and steadfast refusal of Begin, Sadat and Carter to recognize the rights of the Palestinian people, the conflict in the Mid-East was bound not only to continue, but to escalate.

The Zionist attack on Lebanon is the inevitable conclusion of the Carter Begin Sadat Treaty. It is this reactionary trio of interests which must be held accountable for the aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese people. It is their Treaty which gave the green light to the Zionists to proceed full speed ahead in their attacks against

the Palestinian people.

Peace in the Middle East cannot be brought about by imperialists and reactionaries. Until the Palestinian people have the right of self determination and the festering sore of Zionist aggression is removed, there can be no discussion of genuine peace in the Middle East.

Reaction Takes the Spotlight

Sears is always trying to prove it can go one better than its competition. While Alan Bakke was working to dismantle affirmative action programs in schools and Brian Weber attacked them in industry, Sears filed a suit to dismantle such reforms in all major retail stores.

Now Sears has pulled a headline grabbing stunt. In a flamboyant gesture, Sears has canceled all its government contracts for goods. Top executives call it an act of protest against the government's attempts to enforce equal opportunity in hiring and promotion.

But as usual with the capitalists, things are not exactly as they seem. This act of "self sacrificing protest" will cost the company less than one tenth of one percent of its total sales. The items sold to the government are from some of Sears' least profitable lines. In fact, one Wall Street expert called the gesture a perfectly reasonable way to discontinue unprofitable merchandise.

This latest action by Sears is something more than a cheap publicity stunt. The action made sure that all the national newspapers publicized the vicious lie that the capitalists would willingly implement affirmative action programs and ensure workers democratic rights, if only the government would stop meddling and interfering in "free enterprise."

This action is an escalation in Sears' attack on the working class and oppressed people of the U.S., upping the ante in the face of growing resistance. Clearly, this "die hard" of reaction has no intention of letting up. United with Bakke and Weber, Sears has used this stunt to sell the American people a bill of goods and take a stiff jab at the democratic rights of minorities, women and oppressed nationalities.

To Our Readers

In mid April, as we were preparing to go to press with the April 15 issue of UNITE!, our offices were hit by a severe storm. Extensive damage was done to the structure of the building and a number of water mains were broken, flooding the offices.

As a result of the damages, we were unable to publish the April 15 issue. In addition to the disruption of publication of UNITE!, much of our stock of Albanian literature, the Collected Works of Stalin, materials from other Marxist-Leninist parties, and other materials which UNITE! Publications distributes were also lost.

At this point we estimate that at least \$15,000 worth of stock and machinery was lost.

The staff of UNITE! has always striven to produce a regular, high quality Marxist-Leninist newspaper and to make Marxist-Leninist and progressive literature available to the working and oppressed people of the U.S. The disaster which struck our offices has set back our efforts to accomplish this task.

We raise this to our readers for two reasons. First, to inform you of what has taken place and why you did not receive the last issue of the newspaper. Second, to call upon you as friends and supporters of UNITE! to assist us in overcoming this setback.

We are planning not only ways to overcome the difficulties, but also ways to expand both UNITE! and our publications distribution network. We recognize that for many friends UNITE! Publications is the main means of receiving Albanian materials in the U.S. We want to continue and build this so that more Albanian materials are available to an even broader audience. In addition, in 1979, the Year of Stalin, we wish to make the writings of Joseph Stalin available on a broad scale. To do this we need your assistance.

Please contribute financial contributions, no matter how small, will assist us in replenishing the stock of literature destroyed. These donations will also be used to repair and replace damaged machinery which is essential for the production and distribution of UNITE!.

If you have placed an order with us for materials and do not receive your books in what you would consider a normal period of time, including mailing time, drop us a note indicating when you placed the order, the check number, and the contents of the order.

You will notice page three of this issue carries an ad soliciting contributions. Please be as generous as you can. Help us overcome the setback. Help expand UNITE!.

Build the Party Press!

Letters

To UNITE!, Communist Party U.S.A./Marxist-Leninist

Dear Comrades,

I have just completed, for the eighth round, the new Party Program and Constitution that were published in the recent UNITE!'s, and which were adopted as the "Draft Program" and Constitution by the Founding Congress of the Communist Party U.S.A./Marxist-Leninist. Before responding so quickly earlier about the new Party, I thought it was necessary, as a communist, to analyze its objectives from the bottom to the top in order to have deep convictions behind my all-out support for it, instead of liberalism which would make me accept the Party without examination of its theoretical as well as practical significance in reality.

However, my main objective here is to congratulate and uphold the founding of the new Communist Party U.S.A./Marxist-Leninist. It is a great step forward for the national and international movements, where oppressed and exploited people are coming to unify themselves under the correct banner of true and genuine Marxism-Leninism, which the new CPUSA/ML represents with its Draft Program and Constitution.

We, your comrades-in-arms incarcerated here, look for the new Party to be a success in the fight of the working class and different nationalities for the right of self determination, and also, women's emancipation, etc.

Other parties, with the "Marxist-Leninist" doctrine of proletarian internationalism as their guide to action, have failed to solve the many deep-rooted contradictions that exist among working class people in this country, as well as throughout the world. The objective fact of these parties' and organizations' failure to solve the people's problems has been because of the

nature of their whole so-called "Marxist" outlook, which has been reactionary revisionism on one hand, and opportunism on the other, while Marxism-Leninism played the middle man for them to gain their personal ambitions for high public places, etc.

Thus, what we have learned from communist parties throughout the world, with their consistent victories over the oppressor because of their uncompromising spirit, and from those with their constant failure and distortion of Marxism, should be an everyday image for the new CPUSA/ML. Building off both the successes and the failures, the guidance of complete proletarian internationalism will be kept in sight. History has shown that a true Marxist-Leninist organization will win the people's support because oppression and exploitation are in their final days. In short, capitalism is doomed.

Today, comrades, as you all know, revisionism and opportunism are doing a great deal to mislead people away from our objective for socialism and communism. But with this new Party, I am at rest to feel content that the future of the working class interest and oppressed nations is in good and safe hands for better future achievements. I and many more genuine revolutionaries behind this wall may not be there physically, but with the Party's policies prevailing to the highest level, you can count on the fact that the changes the Party will make will be reflected in our minds and confidence.

With the correct work and ideas you comrades at UNITE! strive to achieve, and the sincerity behind it all, I expect further advancement will be put forward by the CPUSA/ML for the final goal of communism.

Freedom Fighter,
Louisiana State Penitentiary
Angola, Louisiana

Imperialism and the Revolution by Enver Hoxha

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Nothing written in decades is destined to have such an original and profound impact on your thinking and your understanding of world politics



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National

May First

Statement from the Central Committee

(Continued from page 1)

States — the Carter wage controls, the denial of democratic rights, the preparations for imperialist war, and the growing fascist culture which seek to undermine the ideology and fighting ability of the working class.

Better Prepared, Better Armed

But this May First, the working class of the U.S. takes the field

against capital better prepared, better armed for the battles ahead than at any time since the end of World War II when the CPUSA completely abandoned the road of class struggle and took up the road of class collaboration.

This May First marks the first time in 34 years that the proletariat is armed with its vanguard political party, its advanced fighting detachment guided by a Marxist-Leninist program, strategy and tactics.

This May First, the U.S. working class takes its place alongside of the proletariat in countless other countries where the Marxist-Leninist vanguard parties are educating, mobilizing, organizing and leading the proletariat down the road of class struggle and victory over capital.

In the United States, in particular, this is not an easy road. The forces of revolution, the class-conscious workers still constitute a minority because the influence of reformism and revisionism is substantial. But the ranks of the

class-conscious workers are swelling each and every day. The effects of the all-around crisis of capital are bringing greater numbers of proletarians into the field of class-conscious warfare all the time. The objective conditions for revolution are maturing all the time — and so, too, are the subjective factors, the consciousness and organization required for the seizure of state power.

That is why growing numbers of workers are coming to realize that December 23, 1978, the day their vanguard political party, the CPUSA/ML, was formed, was a very important turning point in the class struggle. This day marked a qualitative change in the class struggle in the U.S., a day when the spontaneous struggle of the proletariat was transformed into a class-conscious struggle.

The CPUSA/ML plays a vanguard role in educating and mobilizing the proletariat both strategically and tactically in the class war. Following closely in the wake of the formation of the CPUSA/ML, another significant advance for the proletariat of the United States has taken place.

The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement

During the weeks leading up to and following May First, very important gatherings are being conducted in several cities across the country. These are the organizing

meetings to build local chapters of the Trade Union Action League (TUAL).

This new organization is based on the lessons learned by the working class of the U.S. through the Trade Union Education League in the 1920's and the Trade Union Unity League in the 1930's. It draws upon the revolutionary tactics of the working class movement in other countries today and in the past. The steps taken toward the formation of local TUAL chapters marks an important step accelerating the consciousness and organization of the proletariat.

The formation of local TUAL chapters marks a genuine blossoming and maturing of the revolutionary trade union movement, a step which the CPUSA/ML wholeheartedly supports and encourages.

Breaking the Chains of Wage Slavery

The day approaches when the workers of the U.S. will join actively and consciously with workers in many other countries to break the chains of wage slavery. Under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties, revolutionary workers of the U.S. will join together with revolutionary workers from Albania to Germany, Japan to Colombia and Dahomey in joint actions against the international capitalist class.

This May Day, the call of Karl Marx "Workers of the World, Unite!" takes on a new promise in the United States. Revolutionary workers in many cities are rising to the call of the Party. Though small in numbers at present, they represent an all-powerful force destined to change the course of world events.

This May Day sees our Party, though less than a year old, under attack from many sides. State monopoly capitalism, the Klan, the trade union bureaucrats, and various opportunist currents all have intensified their slanders and attacks against our Party in the recent months. Right at its birth, our Party prepared itself to endure and defeat all the reactionary maneuvers and assaults which would surely come.

Two worlds stand opposed to each other today. Capital and labor. Capitalism and socialism. In many countries a revolutionary situation is maturing, a new spring is unfolding. Millions of workers around the world march behind the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

This is our surest guarantee, our reliable assurance that one day we, too, in America, will celebrate May Day in a Spring when the shackles of wage slavery are broken forever.

Revolution Will Surely Triumph!

Year of Stalin

Stalin on May Day

Comrades,

As far back as last century, the workers of all countries resolved to celebrate annually this day, the First of May. That was in 1889, when, at the Paris Congress of the Socialists of all countries, the workers resolved to proclaim, precisely on this day, the First of May, when nature is awakening from her winter sleep, when the woods and hills are donning their green mantles and the fields and meadows are adorning themselves with flowers, when the sun shines more warmly, the joy of revival fills the air and nature gives herself up to dancing and rejoicing — they resolved to proclaim loudly and openly to the whole world, precisely on this day, that the workers are bringing spring to mankind and deliverance from the shackles of capitalism, that it is the mission of the workers to renovate the world on the basis of freedom and socialism.

Every class has its own favorite festivals. The nobility introduced their festivals, and on them they proclaim their "right" to rob the peasants. The bourgeoisie have their festivals and on them they "justify" their "right" to exploit the workers. The clergy, too, have their festivals, and on them they eulogize the existing system under which the toilers die in poverty while the idlers wallow in luxury.

The workers, too, have their festival, and on it they must proclaim universal labor, universal freedom, universal equality of all men. That festival is the festival of the First of May.

That is what the workers resolved as far back as 1889.

Since then the battle cry of workers' socialism has rung out louder and louder at meetings and demonstrations on the First



of May. The ocean of the labor movement is expanding more and more, spreading to new countries and states, from Europe to America and Asia, Africa and Australia. In the course of only a few decades the formerly weak International Workers' Association has grown into a mighty international brotherhood, which holds regular congresses and unites millions of workers in all parts of the world. The sea of proletarian wrath is rising in towering waves, and is more and more menacingly advancing against the tottering citadels of capitalism. The great coal miners' strike which recently flared up in Britain, Germany, Belgium, America, etc., a strike which struck fear into the hearts of the exploiters and rulers all over the world, is a clear sign that the socialist revolution is not far off.

"We do not worship the golden calf." We do not want the kingdom of the oppressors. Damnation and death to capitalism and its horrors of poverty and bloodshed.

Long live the kingdom of labor. Long live socialism. This is what the class-conscious workers of all countries proclaim this day.

And confident of victory, calm and strong, they are marching proudly along the road to the promised land, towards glorious socialism, step by step carrying out Karl Marx's great call.

Workers of all Countries, Unite!

Ten Reasons You Should Contribute to UNITE!

Help us recover the stock and equipment lost in the recent disaster (see page 2)

A contribution to UNITE! will go towards replenishing the works of Stalin and help carry out the campaign to make 1979 the Year of Stalin.

A contribution will go towards replenishing our stock of Albanian materials and ensure that the Party implements one of its main tactical slogans "Defend the People's Socialist Republic of Albania!"

And finally, your contribution to UNITE! will go to repair and replace production and distribution equipment.

This is the first good reason why you should contribute to UNITE!

Build the financial base of your Party

END WAGE SLAVERY

I want to contribute the following amount to the UNITE! fundraising campaign

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Every Factory Our Fortress

Judas McBride and Legalism Spell Disaster for Shipyard Strike

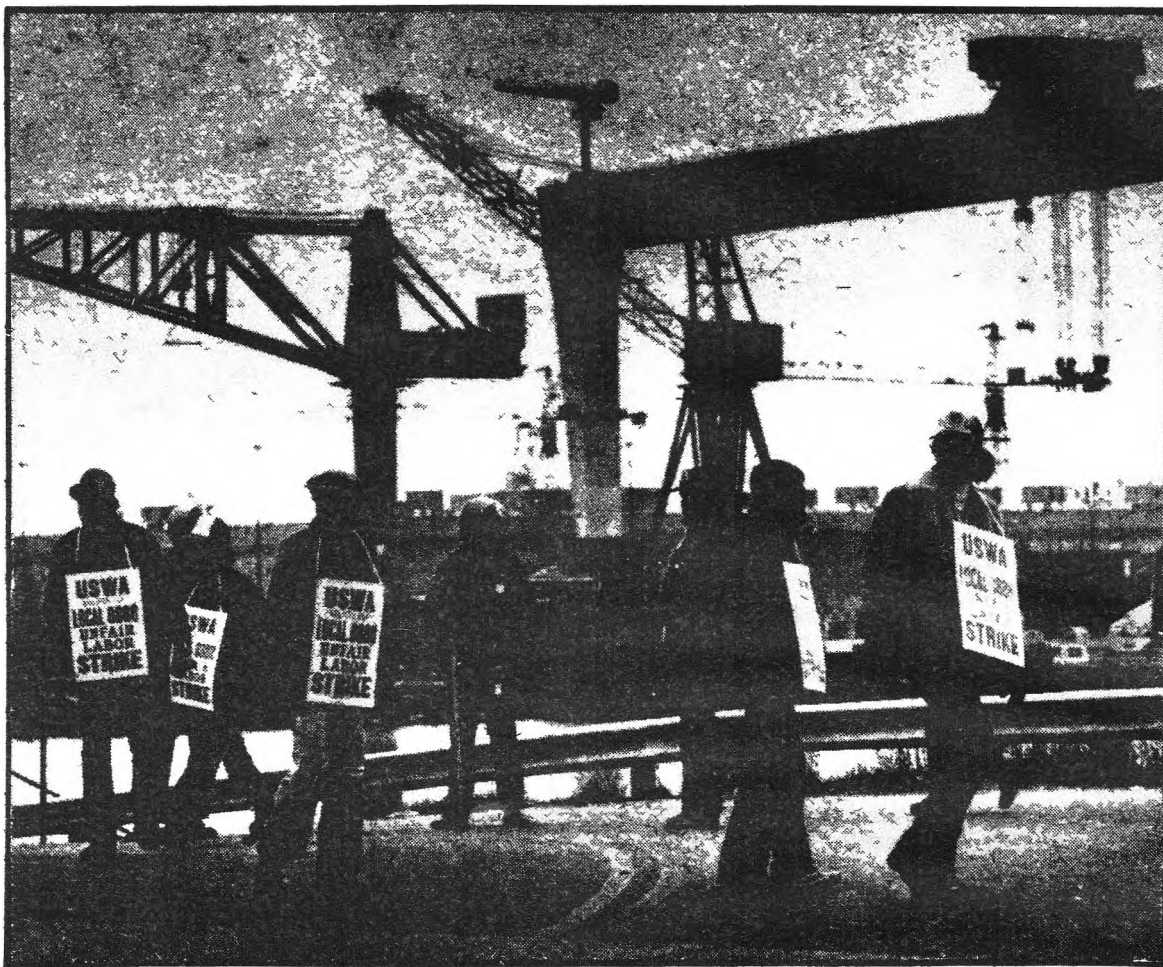
Newport News, Virginia — What happens when you put the United Steelworkers of America, led by arch class collaborator Lloyd McBride, together with the vicious anti union campaign of the Tenneco capitalists and the Virginia state police? You get a broken strike

The Pittsburgh leadership of the International told Local 8888 of Newport News, Virginia to go back to work after months of striking the giant Tenneco shipyard for union recognition. But when the local leadership tried to impose this order on the rank and file, 6,000 workers rose up in a special meeting, rejected the order, and vowed to continue the strike. The International ordered the surrender knowing full well that the company refused to guarantee the positions workers had held before the walkout and was, in fact, preparing for mass firings to break the back of the union movement.

The morning after the meeting, crowds of pickets arrived at the picket line to defend the strike. While stopping scabs entering the plant, the strikers were attacked by the unchained Virginia state patrol. These mad dogs arrested some 43 strikers and sent 18 to the hospital with serious injuries in the street fighting. The state police then attacked strike headquarters, pulling workers from the building and beating them, including the 15-year old daughter of a union worker.

Legalism Suicide for the Workers' Movement

The International's excuse for



Striking shipyard workers outside the main gate at Tenneco yards in Newport News, Va. Rejecting the USWA's sell out command to return to the job, striking workers were attacked by state police. 43 were arrested and 18 sent to the hospital. Having now voted to return to the yards, workers have got to organize to protect themselves from company firings and suspensions and continue the fight for a union contract.

abandoning the strikers was that Tenneco's legal maneuverings would extend the legal battle for union recognition for some months. But this was no surprise to anyone. Before the strike had been called, Tenneco had already ignored two National Labor Relations Board rulings to recognize Local 8888 of the USWA. The

government's refusal to enforce its own rulings and Tenneco's legal stalling fits in nicely with McBride's legalism which poses that arbitration, not strikes, are the "civilized" way to win labor struggles. Such leadership spells disaster for the strikers.

The enemies of the working class, like Lloyd McBride and

other union bureaucrats, can be identified by their legalism. They preach a reliance on the capitalist state which has proven suicidal time and again.

A Victory Snatched From Defeat

As the USWA walked out on the strikers, they held the door open for Tenneco and the state

police. But the determination of the 6,000 workers, rejecting the International's order, and militantly defending the strike in the streets, surprised both Tenneco and the USWA. It was only after this day of militant struggle that the company backed down and agreed to guarantee the jobs of returning workers. This was a victory for the working class, no doubt about it.

Where Do We Go From Here?

At this time, the rank and file has voted to return to work. But it's important to sum up the lessons of this organizing drive so far because it is sure to continue. Tenneco will not give up its plan to break the union drive, and so the rank and file has to organize to protect itself and its leadership against firings and suspensions. But most of all the USWA will not give up its legalism or its traitorous sell out activity. They have proven themselves the major obstacle to mounting a successful struggle against the capitalists.

Independent leadership must be built for any union drive to be successful with an organization and principles that correctly identify the union bureaucrats, the state, and the capitalists as enemies of the working class. These enemies are united in their defense of the wage system, the system which spells misery for the working class. It is only with independent leadership organized around the correct principles of class struggle that the union drive at Tenneco will succeed. ★

Alabama Women Fight for Equality

"I Haven't Ever Seen a Production Job That Wasn't Hard"

Birmingham, Alabama — "I haven't ever seen a production job that wasn't hard. What you make, you know you really made it. All your breaks are on your own time and it's just your tough luck if you have to work through break to hold production."

Cathy works in a small garment factory, top-stitching men's jackets for Sears, Penney's and other brands. Like most of the workers in her plant, she is a divorced woman, sole support of her two teenage children. Cathy makes \$126 a week, minimum wage, plus \$10 a week or 25 cents each for all the extra jackets she sews.

This plant is better, Cathy says, than the Arrow shirt factory and many others, even though base pay is only minimum wage and the company often goes around union seniority rules to place their "pets" where they can make the most money.

Workers can't even join the union until their probation period is over. During probation the company fires anyone it doesn't like. At Arrow women are fired just before their probation is up, and then rehired later, only to have to go through another probation period. The company uses this merry-go-round policy to

keep people from being eligible to join the union. From the pay and conditions, it is obvious that the union has not been an effective voice of the workers, even in fighting for purely economic demands.

Cathy lives in Walker County, Alabama, a predominantly rural county northwest of Birmingham. During the Civil War white Alabamians from this area opposed secession and the war, because it was not in the interests of small farmers and workers. One county even declared itself a free state independent of any country. The plantation owners from the Black Belt, in the southern part of the state, squashed the poor whites' resistance and to this day have continued to "punish" northern Alabama through unequal allocation of highway, social service, and development funds. Today, men in Walker County work in strip pits or underground mines and the women work in one of the many small sewing factories, restaurants, or stores.

One woman, Jane, who has raised six kids alone, has been a motel cook for 8 years. She brings home less than \$200 for two weeks work — hardly enough to live on but a big improvement

over the time she worked as a cook and purchaser, seven days a week with no overtime pay or raise for doing two jobs. Uniform costs were cut out of her check, and no benefits were provided. "I've been done dirty but I had to take it. I need a job and I didn't have any choice," Jane said.

Jane has had her job application in at the mines ever since they started taking applications from women several years ago. Cathy has been trying to get on at the mines for over a year. There are women working in the mines in Walker County but their numbers are token two percent or less of the workforce. The mines, paying \$72 a shift are 98% male while the sewing factories, paying \$25 a day are 98% female.

Women in Walker County, or anywhere, don't work for a third or a half of what men make by choice. The concentration of women in low-paying, sweat shop industries and their exclusion from high paying heavy industry is not a natural division of labor, but a deliberate policy of the capitalist class to keep women oppressed, a captive labor pool of minimum wage workers. This extreme exploitation keeps the working class

divided. All the propaganda spread by churches, reactionaries, and schools, in the media, literature and art about the social inferiority of women and the unequal position of women in the law and political life are inventions of the bourgeoisie to preserve the degradation of women and to exploit their labor.

The special oppression of women in all aspects of life — economic, social and political — is essential to the capitalist system. As an economic system based on private, capitalist, ownership of what workers produce, capitalism must continue to oppress women. The super exploitation of women and national minorities insures super profits for the bosses and undermines the condition of the higher-paid worker, dividing the strength of the working class.

Cathy and Jane are standing up to the capitalist oppression of women, struggling to get jobs as coal miners to make a decent living for their families. They are members of the Association of Women in Industry (AWI), an organization of women employed or seeking jobs in heavy industry, which fights for equal rights for women and an end to discrimination.

The struggle for women's equality is an important part of the struggle for the liberation of the whole working class. Organizations like the AWI which address the special demands of women have drawn working women into the struggle where the bourgeois women's movement has not. Why? Because they correctly identify that it is capitalism and not men, which is responsible for the oppression of women and the predominance of male supremacist ideas in society.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a pre condition for the achievement of the full equality of women, and the CPUSA/ML is leading the workers' fight for state power. But the fight cannot be won without the full participation of women, half of the working class. And the participation of women depends on firm and active opposition to male chauvinism and the special oppression of women. Equal rights for women can come only with the destruction of the capitalist system and the establishment of socialism. The revolutionary struggle needs the fighting spirit and strength of all oppressed women to carry on the struggle for the liberation of the working class. ★

Every Factory Our Fortress

UAW Bargaining Convention: Where Was the Opposition?

Rubber Stamp Falls with Resounding Thud at Autoworkers' Meeting

"Mr Chairman, I notice that the union's package of demands does not include anything about affirmative action or the Weber Case"

"Sit down, you're out of order"

These were the first words at the bargaining convention held last month to formulate the demands in the autoworkers' negotiations coming up this Fall. The exchange went on between an older union man from an International Harvester plant near Chicago and Chairman Bluestone, Vice President of the United Auto Workers (UAW).

"But Mr Chairman, it's important that we take up the defense of equal opportunity in hiring and promotions"

"We are only taking up the issues here that affect our union members at work. You're finished, brother"

Detroit, Michigan — Under the giant banner of "Democratize the Workplace", Bluestone silenced this delegate and proceeded with the convention. This ex-



UAW leadership stages bargaining convention and pretends to listen to rank-and-file resolutions for upcoming contract negotiations

UNITE! photo

change gave an early picture of the whole convention. It was a charade, an empty attempt to make it look as if the rank and file had input into the collective bargaining process.

This game of charades played by the labor fakers affects the lives of over one million autoworkers and is rehearsed year after year in local union meetings.

Just like the small section of privileged, mostly skilled labor aristocrats who pack the local meetings, this Convention was packed with thousands of local officials who chattered all the way through the meeting. They only stopped long enough to rubber stamp the proposals of the UAW "leadership"—whatever those proposals were. When voices were raised to question the UAW's proposals, Bluestone's control of the microphone put a stop to such dissent before it could gain support.

Obviously, the UAW leadership should be less worried about "democratizing the workplace" and more concerned with democratizing the union. To make sure that the bargaining proposal as a whole was passed, convention rules prohibited voting on any single issue. On the second day of the convention, a sudden call for adjournment was heard, and the rubber stamp fell with a resounding thud.

The UAW's Proposal for Progress

Besides asserting that equal hiring has nothing to do with the workers' struggles, the UAW leadership showed similar disdain for the welfare of the autoworkers in the face of the capitalist offensive against their jobs and wages. President Douglas Fraser promised to fight for a "substantial wage gain", although he wouldn't say how much. He promised a cost of living adjustment for pensioners, although he wouldn't say how much or by what formula.

Fraser recognized that autoworkers face a surge of automation that will put tens of thousands out of work in the next few years. What is his solution? To fight for more jobs? No. His solution is "shorter work time." By this he means the addition of a few more paid personal holidays. Fraser states that this is the way autoworkers will gain the legitimate goals of the six-hour day or the four day week. Five personal holidays were negotiated in the last contract. At that rate it will take another 27 years to win real shorter work time!

President Fraser's trickery was not limited to fast talk on the demands. Still bucking for a job in

government, like his predecessor, Leonard Woodcock, Fraser once again posed as Carter's loyal opposition. Refusing to criticize Carter for his 7% wage restriction, Fraser claimed the guidelines have "self destructed." In this way Fraser remains on his soapbox even while he's in line for a promotion. This is the man who is leading 1.5 million workers into battle with some of the biggest capitalists in America.

Where Was the Opposition?

In response to Fraser's statement several months ago when he refused to bargain for a Cost of Living Allowance (COLA) for pensioners because it would be too "costly", 5,000 workers, mostly retirees, demonstrated outside the convention hall. Several shop floor caucuses and coalitions were represented at the convention. Some of these groups have long histories of shop floor activism in the fight for union democracy. One caucus had made a conscious struggle for multinational unity, breaking with the white chauvinism and narrow nationalism of other groups in the plants. Another caucus had formed a coalition with an independent skilled trades council to fight layoffs. One brother from Ford Local 900, where six ten-hour shifts is the rule, grabbed the microphone to protest that a few more holidays is not what they mean by shorter work time.

But these groups provided no real opposition to the UAW bureaucrats at the convention or on the shop floor. Why not? Because these groups do not have a program of principles and organization that would allow them to aim blows correctly or allow them to organize the majority of the union members to strike these blows.

Breaking with Reformist Principles

These groups don't raise as a principle the fact that they are faced with a union apparatus, from Fraser down to the locals, that is committed to derailing and smashing rank-and-file struggles against the capitalists. The lack of this principle blinds them to the fact that the bureaucrats are the first obstacle. The control of the labor movement must be taken from their hands. It leads these groups to organize "to show Fraser" this or that, "to let our leaders know" such and such. Fraser, Bluestone and the rest don't need to be shown, they know. They are the intentional servants of the capitalists and represent the sabotage of the militant union movement all down the line.

The programs of these groups also do not deal with the role of the state in the labor movement. Just as they leave open the possibility of relying on the bureaucrats, they leave open the possibility of relying on the National Labor Relations Board which has time and again sabotaged the

struggles of the working class. In short, the programs of these groups do not put forward that the problem is one of a class system. Without attacking the capitalist system, these groups remain a "drop in the bucket", powerless, and certainly not enough to quench the thirst for a better life.

As a result of this "drop in the bucket", these groups cannot rally the great masses of workers. They grow to a limited size in the plant and then stop growing. A mass movement of militant workers will not be built by groups which do not address the problem, but leave themselves open for defeat like so many other reformist groups which have come down the road.

Keeping these groups in the reformist swamp are opportunists who desire to be a big fish in a small pond, and honest rank-and-file militants who have not broken with the UAW's reformist slogan "democratize the workplace". The UAW's slogan protects the capitalist's "democratic" right to sweat and starve the working class for profit. These honest rank-and-file organizers who are under the influence of reformism do not believe that the working class is ready to challenge the capitalists "right" to exploit the working class.

The Working Class Is Ready

The working class is ready for that challenge. The class is not held back because it does not see its own exploitation. That is obvious to everyone. The class is held back by the cynicism and frustration built by years of reformism in the movement, the reformism of the union bureaucrats, and the reformism of the dozens of caucuses and small groups which attack only the symptoms and never the disease, the diseased system of wage slavery.

The program of the Trade Union Action League (reprinted in the centerfold of this issue) offers the class a fresh alternative. It breaks with reformism and presents a straight on approach to the wage system and its "hidden supporters", the government and the union bureaucrats. The Trade Union Action League sees the problem as one of class struggle which does not occur just around the contract or just on the shop floor, but everyday on the shop floor, at the gas pump, and in the halls of Congress.

When brought to the class by its rank-and-file leaders, the principles of the Trade Union Action League will mobilize the working class in its millions. It is the answer to the frustration and cynicism of a class which, from the CIO to the smallest shop caucus, has seen reformism fail them time and again.

It will be these millions of workers in the Trade Union Action League who will provide the first effective, organized opposition in the labor movement in 40 years. ★

Teamster Agreement Sparks Resistance

Perhaps President Carter is going for another Nobel Peace Prize. The recent contract agreement between the Teamsters and the trucking industry was acclaimed as a model of "flexibility" and mature judgment. But the proof is in the pudding, not in the recipe.

Days after the famous Mid East pact was signed, Palestinians were raiding Israel, Israeli settlements were being built in areas designed for Palestinian autonomy, and Egypt was boycotted by the other Arab nations. The peace pact was not worth the paper it was printed on. Just days after Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons, trucking industry negotiators and federal mediators reached their "historic" agreement, the proposal is being rejected in major locals and wildcatting steelhaulers are shutting down plant after plant. Another empty agreement.

After the Teamsters' tentative agreement was signed, the only fact released to the press was a 9.10% annual increase in wages and benefits. This "breaking the guidelines" and the guidelines "flexibility" received waves of publicity. But when the rest of the contract was presented to the locals for ratification, certain other terms were discovered. Rank and file truckers discovered the clauses which would increase productivity by speeding them up. In the giant Chicago local the pact was rejected by an overwhelming majority.

Fitzsimmons' proposal merely extended the old contract provisions for the steelhauling section of the union. The steelhaulers who own their own trucks are asking that recent rate increases granted the carriers be reflected in increases for the truckers. Steelhaulers that drive company-owned rigs are asking only a 1.3% increase in their share of carrier revenues. Fitzsimmons' refusal to bargain for even these demands has caused the steelhaulers to demand more autonomy in bargaining for their part of the Master Agreement.

Originally, Fitzsimmons had indicated that he would support the striking steelhaulers, but later he reneged on that promise. The wildcats have continued to gain support in the trucking centers of Pittsburgh, Detroit and Gary.

The Teamsters' tentative agreement is proving as empty as the Mid-East peace pact. The similarity between these two documents is not only that they are worthless. The similarity is that they are an attempt to smother the struggles of oppressed and exploited peoples, in the Mid-East and in the U.S. working class, against the capitalist system. But these struggles flare up again in spite of all such "historic agreements." They will flare up again and again in spite of all the Nobel Peace Prizes awarded to such traitors as Sadat and Fitzsimmons.

There is no class peace. There is only class struggle. The working class and its allies will win. ★

“The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system”

from the U.S. revolutionary trade union movement in the early 1920's

On May Day 1979: Formation of TUAL Marks Step Forward for the Working Class

The recent publication of “The New Unionism and the Trade Union Action League” is an especially fitting way to celebrate May 1st, International Workers' Day, this year. For many years, May Day celebrations in the U.S. have been marked by commemorating past victories of the labor movement, such as the 8 hour day. The publication of the Trade Union Action League pamphlet and the formation of League chapters means that May Day 1979 is marked by a first step to the future.

The CPUSA/ML is reprinting the accompanying statement by the Trade Union Action League (TUAL) because we think it represents a major step forward for the working class. In this year of major union negotiations, many reform groups are putting forward demands for contracts and calling on the rank and file to join. But it is only the principles of the TUAL that address the fact that the problem workers face is not simply one of an upcoming contract struggle, but of a general offensive against the working class.

The TUAL principles further state that the present union structure is part of the problem, not part of the solution. While reformist groups remain silent on the subject, this principle enables the TUAL to tell the friends of the working class movement from its enemies.

This pamphlet makes a clean break with reformist ideas. The TUAL principles challenge the “right” of the capitalists to exploit and oppress the working class. The CPUSA/ML believes that the working class is ready to challenge the wage system and is fed up with both the unions' refusal to challenge that system and the reformist groups which offer no alternative.

The growth of the revolutionary trade union movement in the last fifteen years shows that the working class awaits only a program of principles and organization which attacks the source of their misery clearly and without hesitation.

We believe that with the correct leadership, millions will come to grasp the alternative of socialist society in the course of the struggle against wage slavery. Millions will take up this goal as their own. It is the job of the CPUSA/ML both to lead the struggle against wage slavery and to bring socialist ideas, to bring Marxism Leninism, to the movement.

A look at the history of the U.S. labor movement shows the power of this kind of organization. In the late twenties, the American Federation of Labor stood as a frequent strike breaker, unwilling to confront the capitalist offensive. Such actions prompted tens of thousands of workers to leave the AFL unions and join the Trade Union Unity League, a revolutionary opposition based on the principle of ending wage slavery. This organization, supported by the CPUSA in its revolutionary period, achieved major successes in industrial unionism before it abandoned its principles, giving up the leadership to the up-and-coming reformist union bureaucrats of the CIO.

The CPUSA/ML calls on militant workers across the country to bring this pamphlet to the class, defend its principles, and build a real revolutionary workers opposition that will again turn the U.S. labor movement into the vital force of class struggle it once was.

Join the TUAL!

Need assistance in building a TUAL Chapter in your plant? We can send a TUAL organizer to talk to you and your group. Write for more information or call

Trade Union Action League (TUAL)

TUAL/Birmingham Chapter
205 18th Street South
Birmingham, AL 35233 (205) 781-4991

TUAL/Gary Chapter
PO Box 726 Gary, IN 46402
Central Coordinating Offices

TUAL/Chicago Chapter
(312) 978-1247 or (312) 978-1248

The New Unionism and t

Produced by the
Trade Union Action League (TUAL)

April 1979

Labor Donated

We, the working men and women of the Trade Union Action League (TUAL), see a desperate situation growing in this country. Day after day, the capitalist corporations are squeezing us harder and harder to get their record profits. Inflation. Speed-ups. Layoffs. More and more injuries and deaths on the job. Crumbling cities. Union-busting.

At the same time, sparks of resistance flare up among the rank and file. But every time these flare-ups happen, the union leaders rush to drown them in oceans of red tape and raps about “cooperating with management.” The yellow unionism of these bureaucrats leaves a trail of lost grievances, broken and sabotaged strikes, a discouraged and cynical membership.

This Has Got to Stop

The union leaders of both the AFL-CIO and the big independent unions, from the Internationals to the locals, are the first obstacle to our ability to fight back against the capitalists' attack on our paycheck and our jobs.

The TUAL calls on workers all across the nation to build an opposition to these class traitors in every mine, mill, field and factory. We call on all workers to go over, under, around and through these “misleaders” to build a real fighting and winning American labor union movement. We call on workers to join the TUAL, organize the rank-and-file struggle, and finally unite the working class—men and women, white and minority, organized and unorganized.

The unity we build will put a powerful weapon in our hands to stop the capitalist attacks, end the system of wage slavery, and win better lives for ourselves and our children.



With growing unemployment, hundreds of workers line up for a handful of jobs in cities like Detroit, 1975.

Did You Know That ?

○ 1% of the population possessed over one-fourth of the personal wealth in 1978.

○ In 1965, it took \$5,600 a year to barely support a family of four. Today, it takes \$12,000. After taxes and inflation, our real take-home pay has actually gone down since 1965.

○ Today, 280,000 steelworkers produce more steel than 380,000 did ten years ago.

○ The average Black family income is 60% of that of a white family. Minority unemployment far outstrips white unemployment.

○ Since 1970, the average annual wage gain negotiated by the union bureaucrats has fallen 30%. Less than one-fourth of the total workforce is organized in unions. Only one-half of these workers have cost-of-living clauses in their contracts. Last year, 231,000 workers lost this clause in their contract negotiations.

○ The last ten years has seen the biggest strike movement since right after World War II. In the last decade, an average of 2.8 million workers struck every year. Part of this strike wave was the wildcat movement which involved 2.3 million workdays in 1977 alone.

The Rich Get Richer and the Poor Get Poorer — Class War in Our Country

There is a war raging in our country. Actually it comes down to the capitalist class and the working class. The capitalist class is easy to identify, even though they don't live in our neighborhoods or ride the buses. They are the hand-picked millionaires who own or control the mills, factories, mines, fields and banks of our country. They are the class that owns and sells the products that we make and often can't even afford to buy. We sell our labor to this class for a wage, and sometimes even short of that!

Like an aristocrat at a banquet table, the boss's monstrous appetite for profits is satisfied by two servants, the government and the union bureaucrats. The government is run by capitalists for the purpose of maintaining the flow of profits. This is done in a lot of ways: taxes on the working class while the corporations receive tax breaks and subsidies. A system of courts and police protect the property and profits of the capitalists from the struggling working class. Injunctions against picket lines, National Guard troops and state police escort scabs across picket lines. The government protects the boss's right to practically dictate the terms of employment to us.

The union bureaucrats who maintain the giant union apparatus also take their turn to keep us up on a silver platter. George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO, says that the days of class warfare are over. He says we should “cooperate” with the capitalists, and that binding arbitration and government mediation are the “civilized” ways to fight the boss's attempts to squeeze us harder. Long and useless grievance procedures, giving away the right to strike, and destroying rank-and-file opposition are just some of the ways these traitors sabotage our struggle and hand our weapons over to the enemy.

The recent upsurge of rank-and-file struggle has involved a war fought on three fronts: against the capitalist class, the government, and the sabotaging union leaders—all at the same time. Those who fight these three fronts make up the revolutionary trade union movement. Our movement includes those in shop caucuses and opposition groups fighting for union democracy and democratic rights. It includes those of us in the great strike wave. It includes unorganized workers fighting to organize a union like the shipyard workers in New York and the textile workers at J.P. Stevens. Our movement includes those of us who are trying to organize the whole working class under the banner of “An Injury to One is an Injury to All.”

The war between the capitalist class and the working class is due to the system of wage slavery. For the young workers, first looking for a job, the middle-aged workers with families to feed, and the older workers who are just hanging on until retirement, the capitalists have won. We can't live without jobs. We have to eat, we have to work. To work we have to work for the capitalists. To work for the boss we have to accept his terms. We are slaves of the system.

Shrinking wages, soaring inflation, layoffs, and unemployment are the result of our employment. The TUAL aims to organize the working class and challenge the capitalist “right” to squeeze us, to give the screw one turn. We aim to challenge the system of wage slavery itself.

The Capitalists Jump for Our Throats — The Carter Offensive

This year has gone from bad to worse. Heavier taxes. Runaway inflation. Rising unemployment. But these are not accidents. They are part of the Carter government's offensive to increase the profits of the corporations at the expense of our standard of living and our political rights. And expensive it is!

○ Carter has ordered a Wage Cut for the working class. His 7% ceiling on wage gains for 1979 means that in a year when inflation will run an expected 10% in fact, a wage cut. To the loud applause

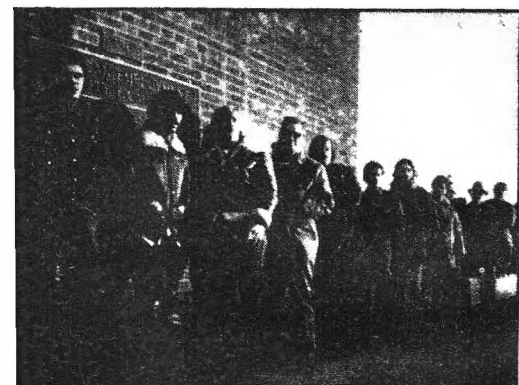
The New Unionism and the Trade Union Action

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Unemployment: hundreds of workers line up for jobs in cities like Detroit, 1975.

Know That

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In 1965, it took \$5,600 a year to barely support a family of four. Today, it takes \$12,000 a year, and inflation, our real take-home pay has gone down since 1965.

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The last ten years has seen the biggest wage increase since right after World War II. In the last decade, an average of 2.8 million workers went on strike every year. Part of this strike wave was the wildcat movement which involved 23 million days in 1977 alone.

The Rich Get Richer and the Poor Get Poorer — Class War in Our Country

There is a war raging in our country. Basically it comes down to the capitalist class and the working class. The capitalist class is easy to identify, even though they don't live in our neighborhoods or ride the buses. They are the handful of millionaires who own or control the mills, factories, mines, fields and banks of our country. They are the class that owns and sells the products that we make and often can't even afford to buy. We sell our labor to this class for a living wage, and sometimes even short of that!

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Often you can't tell the union men from the company men. Head man of the Coal Operators Association Brennan (l) used to be a UMW official like Arnold Miller.

top union bureaucrats, the wage ceiling has been extended another year.

○ Carter's tax reform program was called "relief for the millionaires" by his own Secretary of the Treasury. This bill saved the capitalists millions by relaxing their taxes and increasing their subsidies. Again at our expense. Increased income tax, budget cuts on everything from social security to school milk programs, and a tax on unemployment compensation benefits are ways we will pay.

○ Health and safety standards are in the way of the boss's "productivity push." The Carter courts announced that all standards must be proven an "efficient" use of the employer's money. One Federal District Court ruled that a worker has no right to refuse an unsafe job. They say, "Work the job. If you live, call OSHA."

○ Carter has not limited his attacks to our working conditions. The Federal courts have promoted a series of attacks on equal employment opportunity and affirmative action programs. The Weber and Bakke cases, along with attacks on the Consent Decree in Steel, are an attempt to destroy these programs. They are an attack on Blacks, other minority workers and women, who in addition to their exploitation as workers, suffer special oppression. These attacks are designed to provide a work force that can be kept in the worst jobs at the worst wages. But they are also an attack on the growing multinational unity of our class, a unity absolutely necessary to our efforts to combat the capitalist offensive.

○ The right to strike and the right to organize are coming under special attack. A bill now in Congress, introduced by Senator Kennedy, will make a striker or union guilty of blackmail and extortion if a strikebound employer even "fears economic loss or property damage." The union-busting "right to work" (right to starve) campaign goes on in various state houses.

Whether it's a law attacking our right to strike, or the anti-strike SWAT team patrolling the roads of Kentucky, the situation is serious. Far from organizing to stop these attacks, the union bureaucrats are pushing them along. We cannot afford to rely on these traitors. We cannot afford to wait.

The experience of our struggle proves that we can only rely on the strength and unity of the rank and file, on the organization that we create to stop the capitalist offensive. An organization like the TUAL.

The New Unionism and the TUAL

Is the corruption of our union leadership simply a matter of a few individuals? Some people think that if more of the union bureaucrats were younger, or minorities, or better educated, things would be different. But this is not true.

The leaders of our union hold to a philosophy which is old, bureaucratic and spells hardship for the working class. These leaders decided that it was a better option to cooperate with the bosses than to struggle against them. These traitors aren't even ashamed of it. They're quite open about it. They tell us about "labor peace" and "seeing things from the employers' point of view." Our union leaders looked at the reality of class war, turned away and said, "We can't beat 'em, so let's join 'em." And so they did. Today you can hardly distinguish the union

bureaucrats from the bosses. The screws turned in on the workers. This oppression has sown the seeds of the new revolutionary trade union movement. It is a right in the eye and let's beat 'em." They brought the union back in the thirties and forties to the corruption of

The new union strength lies in the rank and file. The union movement or the union bureaucrats and united workers' class for struggle. Minority workers, and talented women and minorities in the working class, not the privileged few. Paid skilled workers support them. The new struggles that are as economic struggle and budget cuts, po

of union democracy. The capitalist fronts, and so it must. We don't believe in behind our backs. The capitalists' divide-and-conquer between the unions and unemployed, and unorganized. U

At this point, the movement is too small. It needs a program of needs a program of movement needs the TUAL.

Principles of the Trade Union Action League

The Trade Union Action League is for

1) Our complete control over our own lives.

2) Trade union struggles of workers to stop attempts to divide and conquer. Trial lines.

3) Working class unity of the employed and unorganized. Support for the working class.

4) Multi-national unity, premacy and national the democratic right.

5) Unity of workers. Take up the special

6) A "class" question. This means

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state trooper
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NLRB d



The Trade Union Action League (TUAL)



Often you can't tell the union men from the company men. Head man of the Coal Operators Association Brennan (l) used to be a UMWA official like Arnold Miller

top union bureaucrats, the wage ceiling has been extended another year

○ Carter's tax reform program was called "relief for the millionaires" by his own Secretary of the Treasury. This bill saved the capitalists millions by relaxing their taxes and increasing their subsidies. Again at our expense. Increased income tax, budget cuts on everything from social security to school milk programs, and a tax on unemployment compensation benefits are ways we will pay.

○ Health and safety standards are in the way of the boss's "productivity push." The Carter courts announced that all standards must be proven an "efficient" use of the employer's money. One Federal District Court ruled that a worker has no right to refuse an unsafe job. They say, "Work the job. If you live, call OSHA."

○ Carter has not limited his attacks to our working conditions. The Federal courts have promoted a series of attacks on equal employment opportunity and affirmative action programs. The Weber and Bakke cases, along with attacks on the Consent Decree in Steel, are an attempt to destroy these programs. They are an attack on Blacks, other minority workers and women, who in addition to their exploitation as workers, suffer special oppression. These attacks are designed to provide a work force that can be kept in the worst jobs at the worst wages. But they are also an attack on the growing multinational unity of our class, a unity absolutely necessary to our efforts to combat the capitalist offensive.

○ The right to strike and the right to organize are coming under special attack. A bill now in Congress, introduced by Senator Kennedy, will make a striker or union guilty of blackmail and extortion if a strikebound employer even "fears economic loss or property damage." The union-busting "right to work" (right to starve) campaign goes on in various state houses.

Whether it's a law attacking our right to strike, or the anti-strike SWAT team patrolling the roads of Kentucky, the situation is serious. Far from organizing to stop these attacks, the union bureaucrats are pushing them along. We cannot afford to rely on these traitors. We cannot afford to wait.

The experience of our struggle proves that we can only rely on the strength and unity of the rank and file, on the organization that we create to stop the capitalist offensive. An organization like the TUAL.

The New Unionism and the TUAL

Is the corruption of our union leadership simply a matter of a few individuals? Some people think that if more of the union bureaucrats were younger, or minorities, or better educated, things would be different. But this is not true.

The leaders of our union hold to a philosophy which is old, bureaucratic and spells hardship for the working class. These leaders decided that it was a better option to cooperate with the bosses than to struggle against them. These traitors aren't even ashamed of it. They're quite open about it. They tell us about "labor peace" and "seeing things from the employers' point of view." Our union leaders looked at the reality of class war, turned away and said, "We can't beat 'em, so let's join 'em." And so they did. Today you can hardly distinguish the union

bureaucrats from management bureaucrats.

For us, the working class, there is no joining the bosses. There is only class struggle and screws turned in on us year after year. Out of this oppression has grown a new unionism. The seeds of the new unionism can be seen in the revolutionary trade union movement of the last few years. It is a unionism which looks struggle right in the eye and says, "We won't join 'em so let's beat 'em." This is the same unionism that brought the union movement its real gains in the thirties and forties, before the CIO surrendered to the corruption of the AFL.

The new unionism takes the position that our strength lies not in relying on the government or the union bureaucrats, but in an organized and united working class. Uniting the working class for struggle means uniting white and minority workers, and taking up the special demands of women and minorities. It means fighting for all the working class, not just for the selfish interests of the privileged few, the bureaucrats and highly-paid skilled workers, labor aristocrats, who support them. The new unionism means taking up all the struggles that affect our lives, political as well as economic struggles, fighting high taxation and budget cuts, political repression and the lack of union democracy.

The capitalist attack comes down on many fronts, and so it must be fought on many fronts. We don't believe in fighting with one hand tied behind our backs. The way to beat the capitalists' divide-and-conquer strategy is to build unity between the unions, unity between the employed and unemployed, unity between the organized and unorganized. Unity with all those who want a better life for themselves and their children.

At this point, the revolutionary trade union movement is too scattered and unorganized to successfully confront the capitalist attacks. The movement needs organization. The movement needs a program of clear principles. The movement needs the TUAL.

Principles of the Trade Union Action League

The Trade Union Action League fights for

- 1) **Our complete emancipation from wage slavery**
- 2) **Trade union unity** Take up the struggles of workers in all unions. Fight all attempts to divide workers along craft or industrial lines.
- 3) **Working class unity** Unite the struggles of the employed and unemployed. Organize the unorganized. Support struggles of the international working class.
- 4) **Multi-national unity** Oppose white supremacy and national chauvinism. Stand up for the democratic rights of all workers.
- 5) **Unity of men and women workers** Take up the special demands of women.
- 6) **A "class struggle" position on every question** This means not supporting the capital

From the first day of the strike, Virginia state troopers and vicious dogs were used against striking Newport News shipyard workers. When the Federal government refused to uphold two NLRB decisions recognizing the union, workers went out in a strong show of multi-national unity.



ists' puppets, whether they be politicians or union bureaucrats. It means relying on the democratic mass action of the working class, especially through strikes. It means not "cooperating" with the bosses.

A TUAL chapter will be built in every mine, mill, factory and field. A national organization built on the principles of the TUAL will change the face of the labor movement.

The principles and organization of the TUAL provide the tools for really fighting the problems of scabbing, runaway shops, wage restrictions, and speed-ups, all battles abandoned by the union bureaucrats. Strikes would be an entirely different matter with independent leadership coming from the rank and file of the TUAL. We will take the conduct of strikes and the pursuit of grievances out of the back rooms and high-rise offices. We will change the class war from a losing to a winning proposition for the working men and women of our country.

We've seen the lack of democracy in our unions. And we've seen how the union apparatus is solidly behind protecting its own privileges. Because of this, millions of workers have refused to become involved with their unions, staying as far from the union as they do from the company. But the TUAL is built on the principle of union democracy and rank and file control. Democratic election and the right to recall officers are fundamental principles of the TUAL. Millions of workers, organized and unorganized, will rally to a real workers' organization that fights for their needs.

The TUAL is organizing to take control of the labor movement from the sold-out union bureaucracy and place it in the hands of the militant rank and file. We are building the TUAL both inside and outside the present unions. Inside the unions we are fighting for rank-and-file demands, working to organize union members into the TUAL, to expose, isolate and finally defeat the corrupt union bureaucracy. At the same time, we are working outside the existing unions to organize the unorganized and to take up the wider struggles that affect our lives. We will build new rank and file unions when they are needed.

Imagine a united American labor movement taken out of the control of the union bureaucrats and their masters, the capitalist class. The possibilities are enormous. Real working class political power. Real working class political strength. Going on the offensive against the capitalist class. A fight to end wage slavery. This is our future. We must build the TUAL.

TUAL Program of Reforms

The main reforms the Trade Union Action League fights for are

- 1) **Fight the employers' productivity push** Oppose speed-ups, job combinations, incentives, and mandatory overtime.
- 3) **Fight for the 6-hour day** Fight against layoffs and for more relief for the unemployed. Fight for jobs.
- 3) **Oppose the Carter wage policy** and fight for higher wages. Oppose other anti-worker measures such as increased taxes, higher prices, etc.
- 4) **Abolish all repressive legislation** with particular focus on the "right to work" law.
- 5) **In the unions we fight for the right to strike**, to vote on contracts and elect all officers. Fight for the abolition of anti-communist by-laws and other repressive measures. Fight for union democracy!
- 6) **Fight for equal opportunity in hiring and promotion**. Overturn the Weber Decision!

Copies of "The New Unionism and the Trade Union Action League" are available by writing the TUAL/Gary Chapter - PO Box 726 Gary, IN 46402 - 10c each. Order a bundle!

For Democracy and Socialism!

Part Two

Science Must Serve Proletarian Revolution

By Barry Weisberg

What, then, is the position of today's man of science as a member of society? the man of science suffers a truly tragic fate. Striving in great sincerity for clarity and inner independence, he himself, through his sheer super-human efforts, has machined the tools which are being used to make him a slave and to destroy him from within. He cannot escape being muzzled by those who have political power in their hands.

If the man of science of our day could find the time and the courage to think honestly and critically over his situation and the tasks before him and if he would act accordingly, possibilities for a sensible and satisfactory solution to the present dangerous international situation would be considerably improved."

Albert Einstein, October 1952

It is no small irony that at the very moment when the 100th anniversary of the birth of Einstein is being celebrated around the world, the most highly publicized and perhaps the most dangerous nuclear accident has occurred at the Three Mile Island Nuclear Plant in Pennsylvania. Certainly the outcome of the Three Mile Island incident cannot be compared to the atomic cloud which rose over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, though this disaster harbors dangers of no less magnitude.

Today, more than ever before, the question of social responsibility of science and the scientist has become an intensely emotional issue. There is no doubt that the pressing scientific questions of today require a careful response.

There is, of course, a world of difference between the science of Einstein and such charlatans as William Schockley who preaches the genetic inferiority of Blacks, Paul Ehrlich who for years preached the use of birth control as a means of genocide against the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America, or the advocates of nuclear annihilation such as Edward Teller and Herman Kahn.

These people have nothing in common with science which furthers the development of human knowledge in the pursuit of human liberation. Today in the capitalist and revisionist countries, the vast majority of those who claim to be "scientists" have nothing in common with what is progressive. These are people who, unlike Einstein, choose to become apologists for imperialism and reaction.

The advance of science is not a product solely of the individual. The decisive factor, as Marx and Engels pointed out, is the political and economic interests of society at a given stage of development. Both Marx and Engels understood the relation of science to society. They knew that the economic relations of society determine the course of scientific development. In 1890, Engels wrote, "The history of science is the history of the gradual clearing away of this nonsense or rather of its replacement by fresh but always less

absurd nonsense. The people who attend to this belong in their turn to special spheres in the division of labour and appear to themselves to be working in an independent group within the social division of labour, their productions, including their errors, react upon the whole development of society, even on its economic development. But all the same they themselves are in turn under the dominating influence of economic development."

To Prop Up a Dying System

During the 19th century, when capitalism continued to unleash the productive forces, a vast array of scientific achievements were turned into technological advances which profoundly reduced human toil and suffering. As capitalism grew into its monopoly stage, scientific discovery became a means to perpetuate the existence of a moribund and dying economic system. It became the means to intensify the exploitation and oppression of the vast majority for the profit and well being of a tiny minority, the capitalist class.

The emergence of huge monopolies and trusts all brought with them their own laboratories and scores of experts and scientists. Universities and colleges became dependent upon research grants from the monopolies for their existence. The state, as an instrument of class rule, regulates and supervises the development of science for the benefit of those who rule.

Today, over half of all so called scientists are engaged in weapons production. Today, there is less and less scientific research and development occurring in the U.S. which benefits the development of humanity. Instead, what has become perfected is the science of domination.

It goes without saying that the "scientist servant" of the nuclear power industry is more concerned with the generation of profits for Westinghouse than the liberation of humanity. The hazards of nuclear power stem precisely from the enslavement of science in the service of capitalist profits.

How Do We Evaluate?

How must we evaluate the nature of scientific ideas and theories? What forms of science must be encouraged and what forms discouraged or opposed? J.V. Stalin, in *Dialectical and Historical Materialism*, pointed out that "new and advanced ideas and theories which serve the interests of the advanced forces of society," find their significance "in the fact that they facilitate the development, the progress of society, and their significance is the greater the more accurately they reflect the needs of development of the material life of society."

"New social ideas and theories arise precisely because they are necessary to society, because it is impossible to carry out the urgent task of development of the material life of society without their organizing, mobilizing and transforming action" (International

Publishers, pp. 22-23)

The relations of production today in the U.S., as in all capitalist countries, hold back the development of the productive forces which would unleash new scientific discoveries and new technological advances to further eliminate the drudgery of labor and improve the well being of all mankind.

We need only imagine the profound changes that would occur if all the major educational institutions, all laboratories and scientific facilities were turned toward solving the problems of the masses of people, whether in the realm of medicine, agriculture, energy or efficient and safe methods of production. But instead, under capitalism, these institutions are geared toward other pursuits ranging from increasing profits, to new military hardware to academic stardom.

Yet even under state monopoly capitalism, the proletariat supports scientific research in general. We favor new scientific advances which expand the knowledge of mankind. But this often presents sharp contradictions for the proletariat.

The case of increasing automation of industry is a clear example. Automation over the years has, on the one hand eliminated a tremendous amount of the human drudgery and toil involved in production. On the other hand, however, as the capitalist class introduces new methods to improve productivity of labor to increase their profits, thousands of workers are laid off.

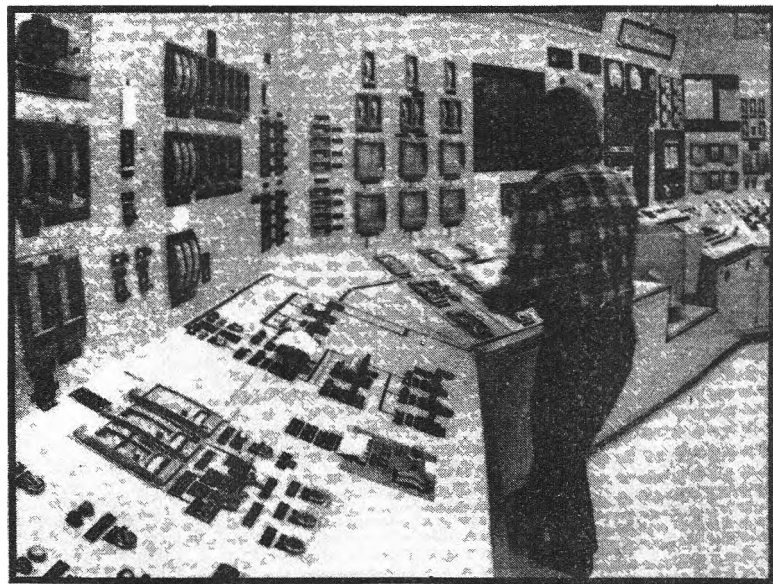
The proletariat supports automation in general when it genuinely advances the material well-being of the working masses. We recognize that it is not machines which extend the unemployment lines but the capitalist system of production. When we support automation, in general, we fight to force the employer to guarantee employment at other points of production for all workers who lose jobs through automation.

We do not, however, support all types of scientific investigation and technological application of science. During the U.S. aggression in Indochina, the U.S. military studied the development of certain bacterial strains which were attuned to different genetic types. This led to the Chemical and Biological Warfare (CBW) weapons which could be selectively applied against Asian peoples, and not affect the U.S. troops. This type of "science" must be opposed and stopped.

Forms of genetic research, such as the cloning of human beings, the exploration of space for territorial conquest by the imperialist powers, and other such pursuits, must be opposed by the proletariat until we can assure these avenues are developed in a way which will serve the liberation of mankind.

Furthering the Development Of Mankind

Science then cannot be separated from the economic system from which it flows and the class



Control room at nuclear plant in Maine. Nuclear technology is one critical area where the stand, method and viewpoint of the proletariat must be brought to bear to ensure liberation rather than destruction.

interests which it serves. We can not separate the activity of scientists from their position in class society. Scientists must, as Einstein stated, "find the time to think honestly and critically over the situation and the tasks." The merit of scientific discovery can only be judged by its service or disservice to the further development of mankind's knowledge and the cause of liberation, not by the particular merits of any individual scientist. The scientist himself can no more divorce himself from the social responsibility of a discovery than a surgeon in the performance of an operation.

Today, the proletariat must be concerned with the work of science. We must enter into all the scientific debates on important issues such as nuclear power, "test" tube babies, space exploration, and fight for the hegemony of the stand, method and viewpoint of the working class — that of dialectical and historical materialism.

The Party of the U.S. proletariat, the CPUSA/ML, actively fights to win over the progressive strata of the scientific community to support the proletarian revolution and the fight to conduct scientific work in the service of the proletariat.

We fight against all anti scientific, metaphysical thinking, whether in the natural, physical or social sciences. We seek to unite the sciences based upon a single world outlook and to insure the unity of theory and practice, without which there can be no progressive science.

A Modern Scientist — Karl Marx

In a time such as ours, when all varieties of mysticism and anti scientific views are promoted by the bourgeoisie, it is more important than ever to promote the brilliant example of the modern scientist, Karl Marx. At the graveside of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels explained what our stand must be towards science, "Science was for Marx a historically dynamic, revolutionary force. However great joy with which he welcomed a new discovery in some theoretical science whose practical application perhaps it was as yet quite impossible to envisage, he experienced quite another kind of joy when the discovery involved immediate revolutionary changes in industry, and in historical development in general."

The only satisfactory solution to the present world situation — which Einstein sought but failed to grasp, the only road to insure that science serves the liberation of all mankind, is the defeat of the world imperialist and capitalist order, and the seizure of political power by the proletariat — the only class which possesses a truly scientific outlook.

The establishment of socialist relations of production will dramatically unleash the forces of production. With this, a new era of scientific discovery and advance will unfold, far beyond anything yet experienced, far beyond the revolutions in our thinking which occurred with Copernicus, Newton and Einstein. ★

"The program of the workers' party, as we know, is a brief, scientifically formulated statement of the aims and objects of the struggle of the working class."

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For Democracy and Socialism!

Profit at Any Price?

CPUSA/ML Says No to Capitalist Push for Nuclear Power

The nuclear disaster at Three Mile Island in March sparked an outpouring of outrage throughout the country. On April 14, 1,200 people in Chicago demonstrated against the danger of nuclear power. Similar demonstrations in Washington D.C. and San Francisco drew 30,000 and 50,000.

UNITE! produced a special leaflet which analyzed the cause of nuclear disasters for the Chicago demonstration. "The events at Three Mile Island," the leaflet read, "proved that the generation of electricity by nuclear fission reactors threatens the safety of millions of people, and particularly the workers at these plants and others involved in the manufacture of uranium fuel. But the heart of the question is not the 'intrinsic' danger of nuclear power or nuclear technology. The essence of the question of nuclear safety is a political and economic question. The question of who controls the production of energy and our natural resources, and for whose benefit."

"The production of energy is controlled, in fact monopolized," continues the leaflet, "by a small handful of the most powerful capitalists. Under capitalism, corporations like Standard Oil produce energy, not because they are fulfilling a social responsibility, but for profit. Safety measures, whether for the workers at the facilities or for the surrounding communities, are subordinated to the almighty drive for profit."

Numerous incidents at Three Mile Island involving the cooling



In the wake of the Three Mile Island disaster, people in Chicago (above) and across the country have demonstrated against the nuclear power monopolies. UNITE! photo

system during the two months before the accident indicated serious problems with that part of the reactor. Workers at Three Mile had been working 10 hour days, seven days a week for the previous 40-day period. After the disaster, the company's immediate response was to call the disaster a result of human error!

"There can be no guarantee of safety under capitalism," concludes the UNITE! leaflet. "The system of profits benefits a tiny,

parasitic minority over the interests of the millions of working people. Only the socialist system which makes the material well-being of the people its guiding principle can safely operate nuclear power or safely mine coal. The essential difference is that under socialism the working class owns and controls the resources and the means of production. The energy is produced, not for the increase of the wealth of the capitalist class, but for the benefit of the

working class and its allies."

At the demonstration, the Party also advanced the main demands to fight for in the nuclear power struggle

- 1) Shut down all hazardous facilities. No license to operate until all hazards are proven corrected.
- 2) Moratorium on the construction of new atomic energy plants until reliable regulation is in effect and local hearings establish the safety of the facility.
- 3) Safe disposal of nuclear waste. Retention on site until safe disposal methods are determined.
- 4) Full public disclosure of all information on nuclear production and safety. No nuclear secrets.
- 5) Full compensation for all victims of nuclear accidents, including workers and members of affected communities. This compensation to be completely paid for by the owners of the facility, to include life long medical coverage, follow up examinations and full recompense for any loss of land, farm animals or ability to earn a living due to physical or environmental factors.
- 6) Elected rank and file union safety committees in all nuclear facilities with authority to regulate safety measures and to shut down plants for safety violations.
- 7) Genuine public regulation of nuclear power. Abolish the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Hold open hearings to insure nuclear safety. Establish a regulatory body concerned with public safety.
- 8) Safety violations by officials

punishable by prison sentences, not fines. Prison sentences for members of regulatory agencies who cover up violations or substandard conditions.

- 9) End research and production of nuclear weapons.

The CPUSA/ML recognizes that these demands will only be won through a massive and militant movement of working and progressive people. While under capitalism there is no guarantee of safe production of nuclear power, we must fight for these reforms to improve the situation.

The CPUSA/ML opposes the often expressed view that nuclear power must be opposed under all conditions. This view separates the production of nuclear power from the class which controls this source of energy.

This view is essentially an anti-technological, anti-scientific view. It is entirely possible to develop the technology to produce nuclear power and dispose of its waste in a safe manner. The only obstacle to nuclear production along these lines is the private ownership of the resources and their development for profit. In taking up this fight for the safety of workers and the communities surrounding nuclear power plants, the capitalists and not technology, must be targeted.

End Production of Energy for Profit!

End Private Ownership of all Natural Resources!

Only Socialism Can Provide Power that Is Safe!

Chicago. Committee to Reverse the Weber Decision Holds Social

Push is on to Build for June 2 Anti-Weber Demo

The mass movement to reverse the Weber Decision and defeat all attacks against national minority peoples is gaining strength as more and more people are answering the call to mobilize for the June 2 demonstrations.

In Chicago, the Committee to Reverse the Weber Decision held a potluck dessert social to bring together people to defend the democratic rights of national minorities.

After a lively hour of sharing desserts and friendly conversation, the multi-national group of workers, students, teachers and community people listened intently to a presentation by the Committee.

The first speaker stressed the special urgency of mobilizing tens and hundreds of thousands of people to demand that the Weber Decision be reversed. Unless this occurs, he said, most affirmative action programs in hiring and promotion will be lost. But to wage this struggle, it is important to understand what affirmative action programs are and why we defend them. Two aspects were discussed.

First, affirmative action programs are reforms won by the masses of people only through struggle, blood and sacrifice. Se-

cond, like all victories of the working class and oppressed people, the capitalists try to take a way with one hand what they are forced to surrender with the other. Therefore, winning these reforms is only the first step a

continuous and even fiercer struggle must be waged to implement reforms and defend them against attacks.

In conclusion, the speaker stressed that while we are on the defensive today, we must always look to the future. We want to change this struggle from a defensive battle to an offensive attack.

Next, Lee Rose, Chairperson of the Committee, spoke. She outlined briefly the work of the Committee and talked about the formation of the Anti-Weber Mobilizing Committee, a national coalition which is mobilizing for the June 2 demonstrations.

The main point of her talk addressed the future of the Committee. "Just combatting Weber is not enough," Mrs. Rose said. "The Committee must organize to fight all manifestations of national oppression."

She talked about the New Orleans based Liberation League as an example of the type of organization that must be built in Chicago. An organization that would fight for equal access to jobs, housing, education and recreation. An organization that would take the lead in smashing the growing influence of the fascist organizations like the KKK

Reverse the Weber Decision!

Organizations throughout the U.S. are mobilizing for the mass demonstrations on June 2 to demand that the Supreme Court reverse the Weber Decision.

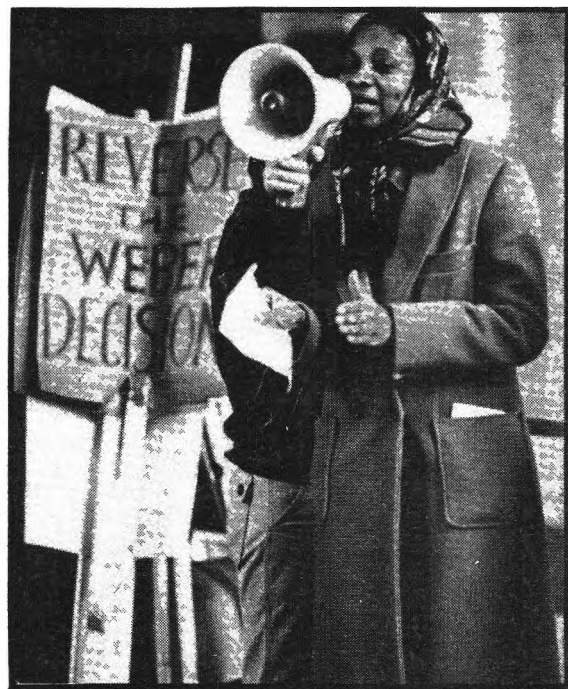
They need your help. Contact

□ Committee to Reverse the Weber Decision
PO Box 431 - Whiting, Indiana 46394

□ Liberation League
PO Box 13282 - New Orleans, Louisiana 70185

□ Anti-Weber Mobilizing Committee
c/o National Lawyers Guild
853 Broadway, Room 1705
New York, NY 10003

Lee Rose, Chairperson of the Chicago-based Committee to Reverse the Weber Decision speaking at the April 28 rally, calling on the multi-national working class to oppose the Weber Decision and fight for affirmative action. UNITE! photo



and the Nazis. "Such an organization," Mrs. Rose pledged, "would be in the forefront of the battle to defeat the fascists and defend all the rights of minority people."

Mrs. Rose concluded her presentation with a call to encourage people to sign up for committees and actively take up work to reverse the Weber Decision. "It's easy to be against Weber, but we need people to actively take up the work and make the Committee strong."

The response to her call was enthusiastic. Many people volunteered for committee work. The publicity committee discussed writing and translating a series of leaflets to explain the Weber Case

and encourage people to turn out on June 2. An artist volunteered to design a logo for the Committee and do other graphic work. Plans were outlined for media publicity to make the Committee better known throughout the city.

The outreach committee made plans to do leafleting and give talks to church groups, block clubs and other community organizations. Several people took up the critical work of fundraising. In all the committees, people offered suggestions and volunteered to organize work that would expand the scope of the Committee. This enthusiasm and real determination to fight for democratic rights and multi-national unity was the sweetest dessert of all!

International

Appeal from the Communist Party of Brazil "Only the Revolution Will Save Brazil from the Crisis"

Geisel Out, New General Takes Over in Brazil

General Figueiredo replaced President Ernesto Geisel as head of the fascist, military government of Brazil on March 15. Figueiredo and members of his "new" government are experienced in the old policy, experienced in the abuse of public funds and the betrayal of the interests of the Brazilian people to imperialist domination.

Despite continued savage repression by the reactionary regime, the mass movement against inflation and unemployment and for redistribution of land is continuing to grow. It is merging with the struggle for political freedom against the foreign monopolies, local capitalists and the latifundists who rule the Brazilian countryside.

Explaining the maneuvers of the Brazilian reactionaries and issuing an appeal to the masses, the Communist Party of Brazil (PCB) has called on "workers, democrats and patriots to unite and fight to get rid of the yoke of reaction, the unrestrained exploitation, the dependence on foreign capital."

The appeal continues, stating, "The generals, being compelled by their isolation have made some 'reforms' to superficially change the mask of their discredited system. But in reality, they have

changed almost nothing.

"This regime cannot and must not stay in power. As long as it remains in power, there will be a constant worsening of the situation in the country, the inevitable deterioration of the bad living conditions of the broad masses, the ever growing dependence on



foreign capital. There will exist constant repression against patriots and democrats. The people will live without freedom.

"Reconciliation with the present government is unjustifiable, breaks the unity of the democratic forces, plays the game of the generals who are in difficulty. They are aware that they will be

unable to maintain the positions they have usurped only through the use of violence. They require the backing of traitors and opportunists of every hue by hoodwinking with the slight changes which do not affect the base of their domination. They try to create the conviction that the regime has changed and will continue to change still more under the leadership of Figueiredo." The appeal continues, "All this is nothing but deception."

"The PCB is of the opinion that the struggle against the fascist regime and those who represent it in the government should continue uninterruptedly and irreconcilably, that the broad masses of people as well as the democrats should be mobilized, and united to smash the enemies of freedom. Alongside the political struggle, powerful actions of the masses for immediate economic demands should take place which will objectively enhance the struggle against the dictatorship."

"The experience of our people teaches us that we will not have genuine, complete freedom if we will not solve the fundamental problems of the country. The difficulties Brazil is undergoing call for the adoption of radical measures. These measures require a

revolution, a national, democratic and people's revolution, which should have as its base the alliance of the two main forces in Brazil, the proletariat and the peasantry, united with the democratic and progressive trends. The assertion that under the domination of imperialism, landowners, the monopoly bourgeoisie and the reactionary, armed anti people's forces the necessary changes can be realized with agreements struck from above, gradually, through elections is utopian or a conscious fraud. Revolution is the sole road to save the country from crisis, from the complete dependence on foreign monopolies, from the worsening of the living conditions of the masses from growing backwardness and obscurantism."

Presenting the objectives of the Party the appeal states, "The PCB resolutely defends the struggle to attain more political freedom, it propagates the unity of all the democrats and patriots to liquidate the arbitrary regime of the generals and shows to the working masses the true road to end the ever greater difficulties of the country, to build its future of progress, independence and freedom. It does not hide its final aims. The Party is determined to fight for revolution because it wants a free and happy life for our people, because it is convinced that without toppling the reactionary forces from power, the allies of imperialism, Brazil will continue to throb in a chronicle of crisis and misery."

Socialist Albania Hit by Earthquake

On April 15, an earthquake struck the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The quake hit in the northern section of Albania near the city of Shkrodra. As a result of the disaster, approximately 35 Albanians were killed and 250 injured.

Across the world, all progressive people who have come to know and love socialist Albania feel a great sadness for the lives lost and the destruction wrought by this natural disaster.

A few years back a similar earthquake struck in approximately the same region of Albania. At that time, workers from all over the country poured into the area to assist the injured and reconstruct the area. The principle of self reliance and the great love for the socialist homeland, allowed and pushed the Albanian people forward to overcome the destruction and set backs caused by the earthquake.

We are confident that the damages wrought by this most recent earthquake will also be overcome.

Led by the Party of Labor of Albania, with Marxism-Leninism as the guiding force, the Albanian

people have overcome tremendous odds, even in the midst of the imperialist and revisionist encirclement. The imperialists and revisionists have always attempted to isolate and crush socialist Albania. But economic blockades, armed aggression, ideological and political slanders and attacks, including the most recent hostile withdrawal of aid by the revisionists in Peking, have all come to no avail. The march forward toward the complete construction of socialism continues, pushing aside all roadblocks whether they are the result of the intrigues of the imperialists and revisionists or the result of natural disaster.

The CPUSA/ML urges all working people and progressive friends of Albania to take up the support and defense of this socialist homeland in an ever more determined way. Through the broad distribution of Albanian literature, support for the Committees to Form a U.S.-Albania Friendship Association, and other means, a broad and strong movement in defense of this powerful socialist homeland will be built.

Defend the People's Socialist Republic of Albania!

Telegram from the CPUSA/ML

To Haxhi Lleshi, President of the People's Assembly and Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Party of Labor of Albania
Dear Comrades,

Our Party was greatly saddened to hear of the earthquake which recently struck Albania. We send our deepest condolences to the Albanian people who lost family, friends and comrades in this disaster. The effects of this earthquake will undoubtedly cause hardship for the Albanian people and the construction of socialism. Our Party is confident that the Albanian people under the leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania will overcome this difficulty as they have overcome others in the past. Guided by Marxism-Leninism, the Party of Labor of Albania will lead the construction of socialism forward despite the roadblocks resulting from either the imperialist revisionist encirclement or from natural disasters. Our Party pledges its continued effort to build support and defense of socialist Albania among the working and oppressed peoples of the United States as a fundamental part of our internationalist duty.

Long Live Socialist Albania! Revolution Will Surely Triumph!

Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party U.S.A./Marxist-Leninist

Imperialism and the Revolution is available from World View Publications (see ad on page 2) or through UNITE! at \$5.95. To order write PO Box 6206, Chicago, IL 60680.

Another reason to read... Imperialism and the Revolution

Proletarian Internationalism

May 1, International Workers' Day, highlights the international character of the struggle of the working class. While revolution is carried out country by country, the mutual assistance provided by the working and oppressed people of the world is an invaluable component to each particular struggle against imperialism. In **Imperialism and the Revolution**, Comrade Enver Hoxha makes proletarian internationalism a cornerstone of his analysis of the current world situation and the task of proletarian revolution.

Excerpts

Lenin stresses that the revolution is carried out by the people of each country, that it is not exported. This does not mean that the Marxist-Leninists, wherever they are militating, should not feel themselves in solidarity, should not be linked with one another by the purest feelings of proletarian internationalism, and should not assist the struggle of the proletariat and peoples of other countries for their liberation. On the contrary, all communists, all proletarians, all the revolutionary forces in the various countries are duty bound to assist the revolution in each particular country and all over the world, through propaganda, agitation, material aid, the examples of their determination and selflessness and by faithful adherence to Marxism-Leninism. Of course, success in the utilization of this

assistance depends, first of all, on the preparation of the proletariat and its party, on the development of the revolutionary struggle in this or that country. page 144

It is the duty of the Marxist-Leninist parties to expose the maneuvers of the Titoite revisionists and the "Eurocommunists" who call proletarian internationalism obsolete and outdated today, as well as those of the Soviet revisionists and Chinese revisionists who have distorted proletarian internationalism and are trying to use it as a weapon to realize their hegemonic, social imperialist aims. page 246

Proletarian internationalism is genuine when people work self-sacrificingly to assist and carry out revolutionary actions, to create a real situation of revolutionary struggle, in their own country in the first place. At the same time, as Lenin says, they must support, with propaganda,

sympathy and material aid, this struggle and line in all countries without exception. Any thing else, he teaches us, is a fraud and Manilovism. page 250

The important task the Marxist-Leninist parties are faced with is to strengthen proletarian internationalism, which must be developed amongst all parties, big or small, old or new. All of them must strengthen the unity between them and coordinate their political, ideological and fighting actions. page 251

By stressing this important line, which is a primary task of the Marxist-Leninist parties in order to be able to launch a frontal attack on world capitalism, its enslaving policy, as well as on its intrigues, trickery and alliances with Soviet, Titoite, Chinese, Italian, French, Spanish and other modern revisionisms, these parties will create a powerful front which will become ever more unbreakable day by day. If they act in unity and all strike at the forces of reaction together, if they expose all the intrigues which capitalism and modern revisionism concoct in various ways in order to put down the revolution and quell the class struggle, their triumph is assured. page 251

International

Prime Minister Ohira to Meet with Jimmy Carter

Japan Continues to Play Key Role in U.S. Global Strategy

Japan's Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira will arrive in Washington to meet with President Carter on May 1. This meeting will take place one month in advance of a summit meeting of the major capitalist countries in the U.S. imperialist network, to take place in Japan.

Ever since World War II, all Japanese Prime Ministers have come to the U.S. shortly after being elected, to confer with the U.S. President. Although Ohira has waited slightly longer than most, his trip holds the same purpose as his predecessors. The task of each of these conferences is to discuss the aims of U.S. imperialism in Asia and the role Japan is to play within the U.S. scheme. Like NATO in Europe and Israel in the Mid East, Japan is a cornerstone of U.S. imperialism's world strategy.

Trouble Over Trade

On this particular trip, there are some troubled waters which must be smoothed over in the U.S. - Japan relationship, in order to prepare for the June Summit. One of these problems is the trade relationship between the two countries. The U.S. bourgeoisie wants all trade restrictions removed by Japan so that the \$12 billion U.S. trade deficit with Japan will be reversed. This process has already begun in earnest as a result of last year's rapid dollar devaluations.

In addition, there will undoubtedly be discussion of the Japan-China relationship. U.S. imperialism plans to utilize these ties in order to weaken Soviet social-imperialism as well as to in-

crease U.S. penetration into Asia. While the Japan-China relationship is beneficial to the U.S., Carter and the bourgeoisie also recognize that the Japanese and Chinese bourgeoisie have imperialist ambitions of their own which could be potentially dangerous to U.S. imperialism's plans in Asia. Carter wants to make sure that the direction of the Japan-China Treaty is within the framework of the strategy of U.S. imperialism.

Lastly, of concern to both Japan and the U.S. is the increased Soviet social imperialist presence in Southeast Asia. Japan has recently threatened Vietnam with a withdrawal of all aid if it allows the Soviets to build a permanent base at Cam Ranh Bay.

The discussions between Carter and Ohira will be aimed at working through these contradictions and coming up with a mutually agreed upon strategy for the coming period.

Program of the Japanese Party

This subservient "checking in" process of the Japanese Prime Ministers has deep roots in the alliance between U.S. and Japanese imperialism which developed in an all around way following World War II. The development of this relationship and its implications is fully described in the program of the Communist Party of Japan/Left (CPJ/L).

"U.S. imperialism occupied and placed Japan virtually under its exclusive rule by exploiting the conditions of the Second World War in conformity with its counter-revolutionary world strategy. The aim of the U.S. imperialist rule over Japan was to de-

prive the Japanese imperialists of their element of rivalry with U.S. imperialism, to nourish them under its tutelage for the oppression, rule and exploitation and plunder of the Japanese working class and working people, and at the same time to turn Japan into an anti-communist and anti-socialist stronghold of U.S. imperialism for carrying out aggressions in Asia according to its world and Asian strategy. The Japanese imperialists have been in a subordinate alliance and in collusion with U.S. imperialism to suppress and rule, exploit and plunder the working class and working masses. Such being the case, the Japanese working class and working people have been subjugated to the influence and control of U.S. imperialism in all fields - political, military, diplomatic and financial, as well as technological, trade, cultural and educational.

"The basis of Japanese imperialism is too weak for independence in respect to the issues of raw materials, resources, energy and markets. Similarly, its dependence upon the United States is strikingly felt in such extra large leading industries as aeronautics-space and ocean development, as well as in food and agricultural products. In these conditions, U.S. imperialism has made Japan a field for lucrative investment and, relying on its world strategy, it is seeking to instigate the expansion of Japanese imperialism into the Asian countries and all over the world and to charge Japanese imperialism with a considerable 'share' of the economic, political and military role which U.S. imperialism is to play. At the same time, U.S.



With the leadership of the CPJ/L, the Japanese people have carried out numerous protests against the remilitarization policy of the Japanese bourgeoisie. The demonstration above was in opposition to the docking of a nuclear submarine, the Mutsu in Sasebo. CPJ/L photo

imperialism is promoting interpenetration of capital with Japanese imperialism in an effort to step up its financial control and collaboration with it. Japanese imperialism is aggravating also the contradictions with U.S. imperialism." (Program of the Communist Party of Japan/Left, English translation, excerpted from pp. 15-19)

An Essential Piece in the Puzzle

Japan is one of a very few countries which plays an extremely critical role within the global strategy of U.S. imperialism. Economically, politically and militarily, Japan is an essential piece in the puzzle which, when placed together correctly, is aimed at ensuring the status quo, suppressing the revolutionary movements, and continuing U.S. domination over vast areas of the globe.

Prime Minister Ohira's visit with Jimmy Carter is a meeting which graphically represents the hand-in-glove relationship be-

tween the Japanese and U.S. bourgeoisie, but it is still a relationship marked by conflicting interests and contention.

It is within this internal and external situation that the Japanese proletariat and oppressed people, led by the CPJ/L, are waging a revolutionary battle against both U.S. imperialist domination and the exploitation and oppression of the Japanese bourgeoisie.

For the U.S. proletariat and oppressed people, we have two important points to sum up from this analysis of the relationship between Japanese and U.S. capital. First is to understand this relationship between the two imperialist bourgeois classes. The second is to understand the proletarian internationalist unity between the peoples of the two countries. We are linked in the same fight, the fight against the capitalist system of exploitation and oppression.

Salt II Agreement is Near

Superpowers Agree to Maintain Status Quo, Suppress Revolution

With the collapse of his inflation-fighting program, and renewed fighting in the Mid-East, President Carter has another card to play, promoting himself as a world leader in the fight for "peace and progress." A final agreement is near, he proclaimed late last month, in the Salt II disarmament talks with the capitalist Soviet Union.

Frantic arms build up followed Salt I, and this second round of talks promises no better. While the Russian and U.S. governments talk about limiting nuclear weapons to a level that will enable them to destroy the world only six times over, many Americans are aware that the danger of imperialist war is as high as ever. Then why do these governments keep playing nuclear hide-and-seek?

Nuclear Overkill

Surrounding the Salt II negotiations is the most monstrous talk of death and destruction. Missiles and bombs are measured by their ability to kill millions of humans - kill them not once, but over and over. Weapons like the neutron and hydrogen bombs presuppose huge areas of devastated and uninhabitable land, like the "desert zones" Hitler wanted to create in Europe and the scorched earth policy of chemical warfare used by the U.S. in Vietnam.

As part of his "human rights" image, Carter poses as a besieged leader trying to avert these horrors. Talk of nuclear holocaust also serves another purpose: it spreads a deep-going fear among the peoples of the world. Fear of large-scale destruction is designed

to make the working and oppressed peoples think that the situation is out of their hands, denying their historical role to stop such carnage. And the deep-going fear creates a "peace at all costs" mentality which allows the capitalists to conduct "limited war" and blurs the distinction between imperialist war and war waged for the liberation of working and oppressed peoples from the imperialist yoke. Revisionist parties like the CPUSA promote this idea.

Limited War, Limitless Profit

The hysteria promoted around atomic weaponry also hides the build-up of conventional arms. One reason imperialist war is so profitable to the capitalists is that it involves the sale of products to the government that are immediately destroyed and must be replaced. The capitalists can sell whatever they produce at great profit, often to either side, without the worry that the goods may not be purchased as with the production of consumer goods.

Conventional warfare is enormously profitable to the capitalists. In World War II, General Motors' German Opel Division produced tanks and trucks for Hitler's Panzer troops even while GM was producing them for Allied forces. In the same war, ITT had interests in factories

which built German bombers. When these factories were destroyed by American air raids, ITT demanded, and got, reparations from the U.S. government.

The American technical journal, *Electrical World*, made this comment on the conventional war in Korea five years after the atom bomb became part of the U.S. arsenal: "The Korean War has assured good business for the rest of 1950 and probably for 1951. That much is clear no matter what the outcome of the immediate fighting. The Korean campaign has already added several billion to the military budget. And that will offset any letdown that might take place in industries like auto and housing."

A Little More Cold War

As the threat of economic slowdown, recession and depression increases, so does the threat of imperialist world war, with all its horrors. But as Comrade Enver Hoxha points out in *Imperialism and the Revolution*, the two superpowers are not quite ready for that war and are working to preserve the "status quo."

The reason the superpowers are not ready for world war has several aspects. Two central points are the capitalists feel there needs to be more preparation on the homefronts. The Soviets must deal with their oil shortage and their lack of

reserve industrial capacity, for instance. The U.S., according to the Defense Department, must deal with the shortage of 18 year olds and resistance to the reinstitution of the draft.

Second, imperialist world war is not immediately on the agenda because the superpowers are still able to expand their economic and political domination through other means. These other means, which determine the character of this "status quo" period, include limited wars, economic blackmail, and an ideological assault on other countries.

As long as the imperialists can jockey for position and win increased domination over other countries through these methods, they will not be ready for imperialist world war. During this period, however, the imperialists spare no effort to suppress the working class movement, national liberation movements, fight their limited wars, and arm to the teeth.

The essence of the Salt II agreements is that it is designed to prolong this period of expansion and aggression. But who can expect the capitalists, with their monstrous appetite for profit, to long resist the final feast, the plunge into world war, a war of profit and destruction, a war holding out the chance to win and come out the unrivaled imperialist world power.



Sham Election in Zimbabwe

The latest chapter in the charade of bourgeois democracy in Zimbabwe has closed. U.S.-educated Methodist Bishop Abel Muzorewa won 51 of 72 parliament seats allocated to Blacks and will become Zimbabwe's first Black Prime Minister.

Already much doubt has been cast around the election itself. In order to stage the election and secure it from threatened disruption by the guerrilla forces of ZANU and ZAPU, the settler regime felt obligated to mobilize every white man in the country as well as thousands of Black "armed auxiliaries" who were given power to protect tribal Blacks and insure their voting.

Many of these auxiliaries had loyalties to the two principal candidates, Muzorewa and Rev Ndabaningi Sithole. Some voters charged that the auxiliaries intimidated them into voting for particular candidates. Also, many people voted because they were instructed to go to the booths by these auxiliaries, tribal chiefs and white employers.

But most importantly, many voted because they were encouraged to believe that the election was a plebiscite on war or peace. Millions of pamphlets and continuous verbal agitation from Black and white transitional government leaders promised that only their votes could end the six-year-

long guerrilla war. A large number of voters accepted this pledge on faith.

Yet even if the election had been unquestioned, there would still not be majority rule in Zimbabwe. Earlier this year, former Premier Ian Smith conspired with Muzorewa and Sithole to frustrate the desires of the Zimbabwean masses. Majority rule, scheduled originally for 1978, was supplanted by a government of national unity.

Under this arrangement, the white minority has a constitutionally entrenched presence in all sectors of the government. Though a mere four percent of the population, whites control 28% of the seats in parliament as well as a fourth of the cabinet positions. They will also control the police, military, judiciary and civil service for five years. Finally, they have assured that the new draft constitution which cedes them this power cannot be changed by the Black parliamentary majority.

Which Road?

Who exactly are Muzorewa and Sithole? What class interests do they represent?

In *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Enver Hoxha talks of the creation, during colonial rule in Africa, of a local bourgeoisie, educated in the Western tradition.

Of these he writes, "The majority remain loyal to the old colonizers, in order to preserve the close relations with them even after the formal abolition of colonialism, or have entered into economic and political dependence on the U.S. imperialists or the Soviet social-imperialists" (page 182).

This is the role filled by Muzorewa and Sithole. They represent the interests of the Black land-owning bourgeoisie in Zimbabwe. Both are members of the Christian clergy, notorious throughout Asia, Africa and the Americas for ideological and political service to the blood-thirsty and rapacious greed of European colonization. Both have a long history of sell-out tactics in the struggle for majority rule.

As early as 1973, Muzorewa conducted secret negotiations with the Rhodesian Front of Ian Smith. He also made secret visits to the racist South African regime, England and the U.S. until he was exposed. For Muzorewa, the principal method of liberation has always been secret negotiations with the colonial oppressors and their imperialist rulers.

Sithole, former commander-in-chief of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), has vacillated between all-out struggle and unprincipled compromise throughout his career. He has shown a willingness to negoti-

ate an unprincipled peace as early as 1963.

The Power Behind the Throne

One of the most devastating errors that Muzorewa and Sithole make, though it is certainly consistent with their class outlook, is the refusal to inform the Zimbabwean masses of the dangers of neo-colonialism. Even if majority government was guaranteed, the economic domination by U.S. and British imperialism will in no way change.

British imperialism, and after WWII, U.S. imperialism have long dominated the Zimbabwean economy. Based on mining and agriculture, the Zimbabwean economy has served as a source of raw materials and an importer of finished industrial and consumer goods. With the revolutionary upsurge, security expenditures doubling, and the rising condemnation of the entire world, the imperialists have decided that a neo-colonial facade is the only way of ensuring their domination of the Zimbabwean masses.

Already, Ian Smith has pleaded with U.S. and Britain to honor their commitment and recognize the validity of the new government. Right wing forces in the U.S. Congress, with support from much of the media, are maneuvering to recognize the new regime and lift U.N. sanctions.

Carter Holds Back

Carter is hesitant to recognize a regime which is seen as illegitimate by Black Africa. To maintain his "human rights" pose, Carter knows that the regime must have legitimacy in Africa in order to gain world-wide acceptance.

The crucial factor in Carter's hesitation is the obvious instability of the regime. Both ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People's Union) and ZANU refuse to recognize it. Though Muzorewa says he will begin negotiations, given the nature of the new government and continued imperialist domination, he has little to offer. Once the jubilation of "free elections" subsides and the Zimbabwean masses see Muzorewa for the figurehead he is, they will throw themselves more aggressively into the national democratic revolution.

This is Carter's dilemma and the reason for his hesitation. Reluctant to accept a "solution" which will further expose U.S. imperialism to the front-line African states and Nigeria, he will attempt to stall the U.S. commitment as long as possible. He fears too quick a move, without negotiating a settlement with ZAPU and ZANU, will wipe out the possibility of a deal if the Muzorewa regime should fall. Then there would be a real possibility that Zimbabwe would be lost to the plunder of U.S. imperialism. ★

● Defend Our Living Standards

Fight the Carter Economic Policy!

● Build the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement

Fight for Trade Union Unity!

● Fight for Full Democratic Rights

Fight Fascism, National Chauvinism, and White Supremacy! Death to the Klan! End Police Terror!

● Stop Imperialist War Preparations

Stop the Carter War Machine! Organize in the Military!

● Fight for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

● Defend the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

